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VINUM SACRAMENTI

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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE
NATURE OF THE WINE OF THE
HOLY COMMUNION

BY
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VINUM SACRAMENTI

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY—THE QUESTION STATED

THE question of the wine to be used in the Holy Communion is one of growing importance, and will sooner or later have to be met and answered by the Church, for the advocates of the unfermented wine theory are on the increase. There is at present no little indistinctness of opinion regarding the question, and a vast amount of ignorance even among many Christian people otherwise well informed.

There is a certain class of writers who, lacking accurate knowledge of the real evidence furnished by revelation and history, press upon the Christian world their extreme, partisan views with corresponding dogmatism and arbitrariness.

A

And there is, also, a large number of earnest Christian people who hail these views with delight. They are not themselves scholars, but they know what drink is doing in the world; that it is ruining multitudes of lives, filling jails with criminals, workhouses with paupers, homes with squalor and misery, and crushing out from life all hope and feeling.

With these people we have every sympathy. And certainly we must admit that if fermented wine is in itself an evil, forbidden by God, as is strenuously maintained by some, then its use in any form, or for any purpose, is wrong, and it becomes the duty of the Christian Church to banish it entirely. For if the thing is intrinsically evil, it cannot have been in the original institution of our Lord, and, therefore, can have no proper warrant for its use by the Church. Nor can the Church make it good even by using it in her most solemn sacrament. In such case it is high time for every clergyman, and every earnest layman, to exert himself to remove it from the Holy Communion.

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Nor is this controversy one of only recent date. It has been under debate for many years. Christian bodies in their ecclesiastical councils have had it under careful consideration at various times, and have issued formal recommendations as guides to uneasy consciences. But still the question continues to return.

Where can its true solution be found? Not certainly within the sphere of imagination or sentiment, but in a scientific induction of etymological and historical facts.

Upon the main question, What kind of wine (fermented or unfermented) should we use to-day in the celebration of the Holy Communion? two distinct positions are adopted. On the one side are those who insist upon the use of unfermented wine, on the other those who hold to fermented. It is my purpose to investigate the grounds upon which the former position rests, and to show its untenableness, and that, on the contrary, the wine originally used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper must have been fermented. A closer examination of this posi-

tion reveals the fact that it is reached along two distinct and even opposing lines of argument, and that of the many who are alike, in that they hold it as their conclusion, some have arrived at it from premises altogether different from the others. First among them are those who admit that all the wine mentioned in Holy Scripture was fermented, and, therefore, that the wine used by our Lord at the institution of the Holy Communion was fermented, but contend that, owing to the fearful abuse of wine which has since arisen, and the untold evils which have followed this abuse, the Church should, in the exercise of a right properly belonging to her, so modify the matter of the sacrament as to substitute unfermented for fermented wine.

The second party within this camp consists of those who maintain that the original wine in the sacrament was unfermented.

These two lines of argument, while ending in the same conclusion, are so obviously different that they must be considered separately.

Let us deal first with those who base their

demand for the use of unfermented wine solely upon the evils associated with alcohol. They assume that the Church possesses the power, if necessity arise, to alter the original institutions of our Lord. But is this the case? We deny it. The Church has no right to alter any part of her Lord's institutions; her sole business is, rightly to understand, truly to expound, and duly to observe them. She has, therefore, no right to substitute anything for the original matter of the sacrament.

It remains for us now to examine the second position, that, namely, of those who maintain that the original wine in the sacrament was unfermented.

The main line of argument pursued by these advocates of unfermented wine is as follows:—

First. The term wine in Holy Scripture (as elsewhere) is a generic one.

Second. The species included in the genus are two, viz. fermented and unfermented.

Third. The wine used by our Lord in the

institution of the Supper must have been unfermented.

Let us examine these distinct stages of their argument seriatim. We have no fault to find with the first statement; the general Hebrew word for wine may be a generic term. But when they assert, in the second statement, that the species which it includes are two, fermented and unfermented, they are guilty at once of a pure begging of the question and a glaring inconsistency. They claim the undoubtedly generic nature of *oinos* and *vinum* as establishing the generic nature of *yayin*. There were a number of different wines bearing the common name of *oinos* (in Greek) and *vinum* (in Latin); and, likewise, there were different wines designated by the common term *yayin*. But surely consistency in continuing the analogy, would have led to the conclusion that the species under the common term *yayin*, were not fermented and unfermented, but different kinds of fermented wine? *Oinos* and *vinum* were generic terms,

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but they embraced different kinds of fermented wine, not fermented and unfermented wine.

Their third statement so manifestly stands or falls with their second, that the heart of the whole controversy lies in the second statement, which we may therefore take as the question for our inquiry.

Do the Scriptures recognise the existence of a species of wine which was unfermented? In seeking the truth upon this question, five sources of information are open to us. (1) The Old Testament Scriptures. (2) The literature of the Jews during the five centuries subsequent to the close of the Old Testament canon; this will include the Apocrypha, the Targums, and the writings of Philo and Josephus. (3) The New Testament Scriptures. (4) The Early Fathers. (5) The testimony of modern scholars, Jewish Rabbis, and missionaries.

I propose, in the three following chapters, to treat of the evidence furnished upon the question by the Old Testament Scriptures.

CHAPTER II

EVIDENCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES—ETYMOLOGY

As the first step in our study of the Old Testament evidence, let us examine the etymology of the various terms used in the Old Testament to denote wine. It is not contended that the argument from etymology is altogether conclusive, since the derivation and original idea of some of the words are vague and uncertain, but some weight must be allowed to it. And in every term which was applied to wine on account of the qualities or properties of the substance itself, the best accredited etymology implies fermentation. There are ten words so translated: *Yayin*, *Tirosh*, *Khamar*, *Shekar*, *Asis*, *Sobe*, *Shemarim*, *Enab*, *Yegeb*, and *Mimsak*.

(a) The Hebrew word in most common use,

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occurring 141 times, is *Yayin* (יין). Gesenius—of whose work the late Professor Robertson Smith in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. xi. p. 602, writes, “Far superior to all other lexicons is the *Thesaurus* of Gesenius, completed by Rödiger [Leipsic, 1829–1858]”—gives as its root meaning, *to boil up, to be in a ferment*. The substance itself he defines (1) *wine, so called from its fermenting, effervescing*; (2) by metonymy of cause for effect, *drunkenness, intoxication*. Other derivations have been advanced, but there is not a single one in which the idea of fermentation is not suggested. The Septuagint translators invariably represent *yayin* by the Greek *οἶνος*, with the one exception of Job xxxii. 19, where it is rendered *γλεύκος*. Now *οἶνος* is thus defined by different lexicographers: “*Pressed out and fermented wine*” (Passow). “*Wine, the fermented juice*” of the various fruits (Liddell and Scott). We shall have more to say on this Greek word when we come to consider the New Testament evidence.

(b) *Tirosh* (תִּירוֹשׁ). This word comes from the root *yârash* (יָרַשׁ), to seize, to get possession of, and is applied to wine, according to Gesenius (*Thes.*, p. 633), on account of its inebriating qualities whereby it “gets possession” of the brain. The word occurs about thirty-eight times in the Old Testament, and is rendered in the LXX. by *oînos*, with just two exceptions, Isa. lxxv. 8, and Hos. iv. 11. In the latter passage the LXX. rendering is *μέθυσμα*, the Vulgate, *ebrietas*.

An attempt has been made to prove that *tirosh* means the grape, and not the wine derived from it, and that the word is applied to the grape as being one of the chief possessions of the nation. But it would be difficult to prove that the Hebrews attached such permanent value to the vine as to place it on a par with landed property, which is designated by the cognate terms *yerushâh* and *môrâshâh*. Furthermore, we fail to see how any conclusive proof against fermentation can be drawn from this view of the etymology.

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For conceding for the moment that the verbal idea in *tirosh* was passive rather than active—i.e. that the word meant something of which man took possession, rather than (as Gesenius) something which took possession of him—it would still remain undecided whether the possession was the grape, or the wine that came from it. And even yielding a further point, and referring it to the grape, it would be equally possible to understand the grape to have been so valued on account of the wine in it, as for its own sake in its solid state.

But against this view of the root idea, and in favour of that given by Gesenius, we have an interesting phrase in Hos. iv. 11, where *tirosh* is said to *take away the heart*, in which respect it is apparently the chief of the triplet, “whoredom, wine, and new wine.” There would almost seem to be here a play upon words. The prophet, immediately upon the mention of *tirosh*, the last of the three, is reminded of its root meaning—the *possessor*—and a verb descriptive of its action is at once suggested to

him as the verb he shall use in describing the action of all three—they *take away the heart*.

It is true that *tirosh* is occasionally connected with expressions that would apply properly to fruit. And on the strength of such passages, it is urged that it really means *the grape*—the solid fruit of the vine. It is used, for example, with verbs significant of *gathering*, “But they that have *gathered* it shall *eat* it, and praise the Lord; and they that have *brought it together* shall *drink* it in the courts of My holiness” (Isa. lxii. 9). But here, if we are to infer a solid substance from the verbs *gathered*, *brought together*, and *eat*, we should equally infer a liquid from the verb *drink*. Moreover, the verb *eat* (*akal*) is of so broad a nature as often to include liquids. For example (Deut. xii. 23), “Only be sure that thou *eat not the blood*: for the blood is the life; and thou shalt not *eat the life* with the flesh. Thou shalt not *eat* it; thou shalt *pour it* out upon the earth as water.” From this passage we see that the

word *eat* (*akal*) may have the broad meaning of *consume*. Thirty-four times *tirosh* is used in connection with corn or oil or with both together, as the annual products of the land. Sometimes (as in Deut. xii. 17) the same verb is used to describe the consumption of all three. "Thou mayst not *eat* within thy gate the tithe of thy *corn*, or of thy *wine*, or of thy *oil*." From this fact it is argued that *tirosh* was of the same nature as corn and oil (properly, it is said, "olive fruit"), and was, therefore, an edible and not a drinkable substance. But its conjunction with corn and olive oil (or fruit, if that be the proper rendering) so far from proving it an edible substance, may with equal force be made to prove the opposite. For is it not more reasonable to suppose, that in an enumeration of the materials needed for man's support, both meat and drink would be specified, rather than several kinds of the former and none of the latter? And in the passage just quoted, the broad sense of the word *eat* to which we have already referred,

would remove any difficulty founded upon its use there in connection with *tirosh*.

Tirosh is found, also, with verbs significant of treading, "Thou shalt sow, but shalt not reap; thou shalt *tread* the olives, but shalt not anoint thee with the oil; and the *vintage* (תִּירוֹשׁ), but shalt not drink the wine" (Micah vi. 15, R.V.). But on the other hand, so also is *yayin*, of whose liquid nature there is no question (cf. Isa. xvi. 10, "The treaders shall *tread* no *yayin* in their presses").

It is spoken of as withering: "The new wine mourneth" (Isa. xxiv. 7). "The new wine is dried up" (Joel i. 10).

In nearly all, if not all, these passages, the use of *tirosh* might be explained equally well by the common figure of prolepsis. By the same figure *bread* (Ps. civ. 14, לֶחֶם מִן־הָאָרֶץ) and *iron* (Job xxviii. 2) are represented as being *brought forth out of the earth*. Indeed, we have an exactly parallel instance of this very use of *wine* for *grape* in Homer (*Od.* ix. l. 110)—

ἡδ' ἄμπελοι, αἵτε φέρουσιν

Οἶνον ἐριστάφυλον.

Moreover, as against these passages which give more or less support to the solid nature of *tirosh*, are others equally strong to establish its liquid nature.

In the only passage where the act of consuming *tirosh* alone is noticed (Isa. lxii. 8, 9), the verb is *shathah* (שָׁתַּה). Moreover, 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6, which is adduced to prove that *tirosh* is sometimes used for the solid grape, has, in reality, the opposite force. For how could tithes of the grape be piled up in heaps as in this passage? They would become bad in a short time. But still stronger evidence as to the nature of *tirosh* is furnished in Hos. iv. 11. This passage is an exceedingly difficult one for the advocates of the two-wine theory. Here the prophet seems to see in *tirosh* the climax of those evils which "take away the heart," either because it was more intoxicating in itself, or (being the new wine) more abundant than the old wine (*yayin*) left from former years,

and hence affording greater temptation than that. Hence the LXX. has μέθυσμα, explained by Schleusner, *potus inebrians*; the Peshito Syriac has *ravoyutho*, rendered by Castell *ebrietas, vinolentia*, i.e. *habitual drunkenness*. With this the Targum of Jonathan agrees, the same word in its Chaldee form being used as in the Syriac. The Vulgate rendering is *ebrietas*, drunkenness.

As a further confirmation, I give the following from Gesenius under the head of *Tirosh*: "All the passages go to show that *tiros*h is new wine of the first year, the wine crop or vintage of the season, and hence it is mostly coupled with corn and oil as products of the land. That it was regarded as intoxicating is shown by Hos. iv. 11" (*Lex.*, p. 1129). It is impossible to understand the phrase *take away the heart*, in any other sense than intoxication. What is the testimony of the Rabbins on this point is clearly shown in the following quotations: "*Tirosh* is new wine, the liquor of grapes first pressed out which easily *takes*

possession of the mind of man" (Sanhedr. lxxvi. 1). "If thou abuse it thou shalt be poor; if thou rightly use it thou shalt be head" (Joma, lxxv. 2). Again, in the Gemara, "Wherefore is it called Tirosh? Because all who are drawn to it shall be poor." Such direct testimony as to the liquid and intoxicating nature of *tirosh*, from men who should have known something of their own language, ought to put the matter beyond controversy.

Less direct, yet almost equally strong evidence to the same effect, is furnished by the Targumists Onkelos and Jonathan, who invariably render *tirosh* by the word *khamar*, of whose liquid and intoxicating nature there can be no doubt.

In any case, if we allow *tirosh* to mean not *wine* but *the grape*, the word is altogether ruled out of this controversy. And if we understand it to be *the fresh juice* just pressed out from the grape, as one would squeeze it into a cup immediately before drinking—supposing that custom to have existed—it is

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equally irrelevant to the question; for, as we well know, the grape season had long passed at the time of the Passover feast.

(c) *Khemer* (חֶמֶר). This word occurs but twice in the Hebrew, and six times in its Chaldee equivalent (חֶמֶר) in the Chaldee portions of Ezra and Daniel. Its verbal root, according to Gesenius, means *to boil up, to foam, to ferment, to be red, from the idea of boiling, being inflamed, &c.* In every instance the LXX. translates it by *Oīnos*.

(d) *Shekar* (שֶׁכָּר). This word is found twenty-two times. Its verbal root in all the Semetic tongues means *to drink deeply, to be drunken*. Gesenius defines the substantive, “*Strong drink, any intoxicating liquor, whether wine or an intoxicating drink prepared from barley, honey, or dates.*” It is usually rendered in the LXX. by *σίκερα*, and in the Authorised Version by *strong drink*, or *strong wine*, as in Num. xxviii. 7.

In his Epistle to Nepotian, Jerome, by far the leading scholar of his day, and a man of

wide and liberal view, describes various drinks included under the term *sicera* or *shekar*. Yet this man, who was by his long period of life at Bethlehem, and by subsequent study of the Hebrew language undertaken in connection with the famous Vulgate translation, most competent to write upon such a subject, and by his own strong advocacy of abstinence from wine, most certain to mention an unfermented form of wine were any such known of in Palestine, makes no mention of such, but describes all forms of *shekar* as intoxicating.

(e) From the Hebrew verb *masak* (מָסַךְ) to *mix*, are derived three substantives, *meseḵ* (מִסְכָּה), *mimsak* (מִמְסַךְ), and *mezeg* (מִזְגַּה), all of which may be translated *mixture*, *mixed wine*. The verb occurs in Prov. ix. 2, "Wisdom hath mingled her wine." *Meseḵ* is found only in Ps. lxxv. 9 (8 in A.V.), "It is full of mixture." *Mimsak* and *mezeg* appear respectively in Prov. xxiii. 30, and Cant. vii. 3 (2 in A.V.). All three words might

describe wine mixed with water, or with drugs of a stupefying or exciting character added to produce more potent effects than were otherwise possible, or with aromatics to make a spiced wine, of which the ancients were very fond. It will be seen that the root idea of this word is drawn not from the nature or qualities or properties of the wine itself, but from its association with other ingredients. Nothing can be deduced, therefore, from its etymology as to the fermented or unfermented state of the wine it represented. But we may see from its effects in Prov. xxiii. 30 that the *mimsak* there referred to was intoxicating, for the picture of the drunkard is there drawn with great vividness.

(f) *Asis* (אִסִּי). This word comes from the verbal root *asas* (אָסָה), *to tread, to press*. It occurs five times, and signifies what is *trodden out*. It is put for new wine, the product of the same year, like new wheat. In Cant. viii. 2 it is used of the juice of the pomegranate, which proves it to have been employed

in a width of meaning which its etymology sanctioned.

Here again there is nothing in the etymology either for or against fermentation, for the sufficient reason that the root idea is derived, not from the qualities or properties of the wine, but from the method of its production. But the evidence for fermentation which is lacking in the etymology of the term is furnished in other ways. The references to wine-making in the Bible show us that no effort was made by the Hebrews to preserve the expressed juice of the grape from fermentation, and so we find an inebriating power ascribed to *asis* (Isa. xlix. 26, and Joel i. 5), as well as to *tirosh* and *yayin*.

(*g*) *Sobe* (סָבָה). This word occurs but three times, Isa. i. 22, Hos. iv. 18, Nah. i. 10. Its root (סָבָה) signifies *to soak*, or *drink to excess*. The finite verb and its participle are continually used in the latter sense, *e.g.* Deut. xxi. 20; Prov. xxiii. 20, 21; Isa. lvi. 12; Nah. i. 10. Two out of the three passages

in which *sobe* occurs (Isa. i. 22; Nah. i. 10) imply a liquor that would be spoiled by the application of water, and the expression in Isa. i. 22 (mâhûl, A.V. "mixed") is supposed to convey the same idea as the Latin *castrare* applied to wine (Plin. xix. 19). The root idea of the word describes or suggests the tendency which the substance produces upon the consumer—a tendency to intemperance.

(h) *Yegeb* (יֶגֶב). Of this word no notice should be taken. Its meaning is *a wine-press*. It occurs sixteen times in the Old Testament, and only once (Deut. xvi. 13) does it appear to be translated *wine*, and that only in the Authorised Version. The explanation of its apparent translation as *wine* there, is that the rendering of the Hebrew phrase in the Authorised Version is rather a paraphrase than a literal translation. For this paraphrase the Revised Version has substituted the literal rendering in which the true meaning of *yegeb* appears.

(i) *Shemarim* (שְׁמָרִים). This word is the plural of a noun *Shemer* (שֹׁמֵר) which, in turn, is from

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the verbal root *shamar* (שָׁמַר), meaning *to watch, to guard, to preserve*. The singular noun does not occur in the Old Testament. The plural form which we notice here is translated in the majority of instances *lees*, but once (viz. Isa. xxv. 6) *wine*, being transferred to the wine that had been kept on the lees for the purpose of increasing its body.

(j) *Enab* (עֲנַב). This word is probably derived from עֲנַב, an unused root, and means *a cluster*. It is erroneously translated *flagons of wine* in the Authorised Version (Hos. iii. 1), but that translation has been corrected in the Revised Version to *cakes of raisins*. This word, therefore, has no place in the present discussion.

We have seen, by the foregoing examination of the various Hebrew words used to denote wine, that so far from their etymology giving any support to the hypothesis of an unfermented wine, whatever evidence it furnishes on the question is opposed to that theory. Of the ten words which we have reviewed, three

do not properly denote wine. And of the others, four convey in their etymology, directly or indirectly, the idea of fermentation, while the remaining three afford no evidence upon the point.

CHAPTER III

EVIDENCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT (*continued*) — CLASSIFICATION AND EXAMINATION OF PASSAGES

WE now turn to an examination of the numerous passages in which these seven words properly translated *wine*, &c., occur, to discover from the context in which they are used whether they represent a fermented or unfermented liquor. Such an investigation will lead to the fact that in not a single passage in the Old Testament can the appearance of an unfermented wine be proved.

All such passages may be roughly divided into two classes. There are first, those in which the wine referred to is manifestly and confessedly fermented, *e.g.* Gen. ix. 21, "And Noah began to be an husbandman, and planted

a vineyard: and he drank of the wine, and was drunken." Also Gen. xix. 32; 1 Sam. i. 14; Prov. xx. 1, &c. Such passages we may dismiss at once, as there is no controversy about them.

The second class comprises those in which there exists no direct evidence to show either the presence or absence of fermentation. In reference to these passages, however, it must be borne in mind that the whole onus of proof rests with the advocates of unfermented wine. I find a very large number of passages in which the fermented nature of wine is beyond question, and I have the right to assume that in those other passages, where there is absolutely no evidence to the contrary, it is the same kind of wine which is referred to, viz. a fermented juice of the grape. And if any one asserts that it is not so, but that the wine in these latter passages is unfermented, I have a right—and more than a right, a duty—to demand proof, and to refuse to accept the statement without it. And I assert again, there is absolutely no passage in the Old

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Testament where the wine can be proved to be anything different in nature from that which in other passages is manifestly fermented.

The truth or falsity of this assertion can only be ascertained by an examination of each passage individually—an undertaking too great for the limits of this work. But it is not made rashly, or without such an individual investigation on the present writer's part.

Moreover, if there were two distinct kinds of wine, one fermented and the other unfermented, the first of which was approved and even commanded, while the second was disapproved and forbidden, how came it that no special term was reserved for the first kind to differentiate it from the second? No such term is to be found. Every Hebrew word for wine represents in at least some passages a fermented liquor. Yet such a distinction would be, by the very arguments of the advocates of unfermented wine, one of supreme importance. How comes it that there is no one Hebrew word to express it? Nay, more, there are not even qualifying terms used

with any of these words for wine, or in any of these passages, to make clear a distinction so vital. Moreover, such an omission under the circumstances would appear the more unaccountable from a reference to the passages concerning bread. Two kinds of bread existed—leavened or fermented, and unleavened or unfermented. But two distinct words, derived from verbal roots of opposite significations, are uniformly used in describing them. The first (חַמֶּצֶת) *Chametz*, i.e. *bread soured*, or *leavened*, from the root *Chametz* (חִמַּץ), *to be sour*, was the term used for fermented bread; while (מַצָּה) *Matzah*, from the root (צָחַק), *to suck*, was used to describe unfermented bread, perhaps from the idea of sweetness supposed to be contained in the root. This latter was the flat cake or cracker eaten during the Passover season. In the case of wine, however, there is no such distinction made. Why this should be, it is for the advocates of the two classes of wine to say. A language rich enough to employ nine or ten distinct words for wine might have furnished or restricted one to mark

so important a distinction. But there is not an adjective, or any qualifying word, employed to distinguish fermented from unfermented wine. That such is the case can be accounted for only on one supposition—no such distinction existed; or if it did exist, it was not of sufficient importance to call for expression: either of which alternatives is utterly subversive of the unfermented-wine theory as urged in this connection.

But though there is no valid proof of the existence in Old Testament times of an unfermented wine, a species of proof satisfactory to some minds is thus educed.

The fact is noticed that wine is sometimes spoken of with approval by God, or the servants of God, and at other times with disapproval. In some passages it is regarded as a blessing, and its use is commanded; in others, on the contrary, it is described as a curse, and its use is forbidden.

This is a fact which is patent to every reader of the Old Testament. From that fact two

arguments are advanced which I proceed now to state and examine in detail.

(1) Fermented wine, it is urged, could not, in view of its known evil effects, have been commended, much less could its use have been commanded.

(2) Two attitudes so opposed to each other as commendation and disapproval could not have been adopted by God, or the servants of God, towards one and the same thing. Therefore, though there be no direct or distinct intimation of an unfermented wine, we are forced by these two considerations to believe such a wine existed, and that this is the wine that is referred to in all passages where the Bible speaks of wine with approval.

But to these two contentions, respectively, I answer: (1) In many of these Old Testament passages, wine that is manifestly intoxicating is approved, or at least countenanced by God, or the servants of God evidently acting with His sanction. (2) The opposite attitudes of condemnation and approval are, as a matter

of fact, constantly adopted by God towards one and the same thing.

As illustrations of the first fact, let us examine a few passages in detail.

Lev. x. 9: "And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying, Do not drink wine (*yayin*) nor strong drink (*shekar*), thou nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die." Here *yayin* and *shekar* manifestly mean intoxicating wine. The whole sense of the prohibition, and the connection in which it occurs, make that certain. *Yayin* and *shekar* had apparently been the cause of the rashness which led to the sin of Nadab and Abihu, and both forms of drink had a tendency to incapacitate the priests for their service. Accordingly, the Vulgate has translated the phrase, *vinum, et omne quod inebriare potest, non bibetis*. But from the fact that the prohibition is limited (1) to the priests, and (2) to them only on certain occasions, it is a natural inference that to other men, and even to priests on other occasions,

these same *yayin* and *shekar* were allowed. Further, the absence of any qualifying term with either *yayin* or *shekar* goes to disprove, what is itself nothing more than a pure assumption, viz. that there were unfermented forms of these drinks. If these are, as they must be, fermented and intoxicating liquors, which, taken to excess, would become the cause of sin, and there are good, unfermented, wholesome liquors, always associated with joy and blessing, yet going by the same name, why not distinguish the two by some simple qualifying term, to show that it is the evil, fermented *yayin* which is forbidden? If there were two kinds essentially different in state and effects, such a distinction in language would be natural and necessary, and its absence becomes surprising. But if there was only one kind of *yayin* or *shekar*, and that which is forbidden is the taking it in excess, then the language of the prohibition becomes perfectly simple and natural. For the line which can easily be drawn between two essentially different liquors, is extremely

difficult, and in such a connection impossible to draw between temperate and excessive drinking of the same liquor. Wherefore the priests must abstain altogether from *yayin* and *shekar*, while they are ministering before the Lord.

In Num. vi. 3, 4, by parity of reasoning, the same conclusion is reached. The Naẓarite is to separate himself from all that is made of the vine-tree all the days of his separation. Here again, the limiting clause suggests that when these days had ceased he was at liberty to resume his use of wine. And this conclusion is confirmed by verse 20, where it is expressly stated, "And after that the Nazarite may drink wine" (*yayin*).

Take another passage; Deut. xiv. 26. In the preceding verses the Israelites are commanded to bring up with them to the house of God the tithes of their crops and herds, and to eat them before the Lord. But for such of them as lived at a great distance from the house of God, this would be very burdensome. Therefore the merciful provision of the passage: "If the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able

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to carry it, because the place is too far from thee, which the Lord thy God shall choose to set His name there, when the Lord thy God shall bless thee: then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thine hand, and shalt go into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose: and thou shalt bestow the money for whatsoever thy soul desireth, for oxen or for sheep, or for wine (*yayin*), or for strong drink (*shekar*), or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee: and thou shalt eat there before the Lord thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou and thine household." Again I ask, if there were two kinds of *yayin* or *shekar*, one of which was innocuous, and even so beneficial as to be a symbol of joy and blessing, while the other was pernicious, destructive in itself in any quantity, and not merely in its excessive use, why, for the sake of Israel, did God, by omitting to specify the kind, give a permission so broad that both kinds alike could shelter themselves under the Divine sanction?

In 1 Sam. i. 14, 15, Eli, seeing the moving

lips and the deep excitement of Hannah, rebukes her for drunkenness, and bids her 'put away her wine (*yayin*) from her.' And to the rebuke she makes answer, "I have drunk neither wine (*yayin*) nor strong drink (*shekar*).” Yet after the birth and weaning of Samuel, we find her going up with him to Shiloh, carrying amongst other things, for an offering, "a bottle of wine" (*yayin*). Are we to suppose that there are two distinct kinds of grape juice here referred to, the first one fermented, and therefore evil and forbidden, which Hannah was accused of having drunk, and earnestly denied the accusation; and the second unfermented and good, allowed and even enjoined, which she brought up to Shiloh? Where is there a particle of ground for such a distinction?

In 2 Chron. ii. 10, Solomon promises as payment for the services of the workmen of Hiram, King of Tyre, amongst other provisions, 20,000 baths of wine, equivalent (reckoning the baths at $7\frac{1}{2}$ gallons) to the enormous quantity of 150,000 gallons of wine. Unless it can be proved that all of this was unfermented wine, we are face to

face with the fact that Solomon, at a period of his life when his heart was apparently wholly occupied with the worship and service of God, and in connection with the building of the Temple, countenanced, and even used, fermented wine.

A similar instance may be found in Ezra vi. 9. Darius, who had just discovered the original decree of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the Temple, and who appears to have understood much about the law of the Jewish ritual, there makes a decree that the elders of the Jews shall be provided with all they require for the work from the king's goods, "Even of the tribute beyond the river . . . and that which they have need of, both young bullocks, and rams, and lambs for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, and oil, according to the appointment of the priests." And again in chap. vii. 21, Artaxerxes makes a similar decree to all the treasurers beyond the river, that whatever Ezra required should be at once provided, "unto an hundred talents of silver, and to an hundred measures of wheat, and to an hundred baths of wine (*chamar*),

&c.” The bath being equal to about $7\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, the total amount would be equivalent to 750 gallons of wine. And this help, so far from being refused as inconsistent with the holiness of the work, was most gratefully received, and became the occasion of an outburst of thanksgiving to God, which the two last verses of the chapter record. Again I ask, are we to suppose that all this wine, provided by the Persian Court, was unfermented? Yet such a supposition is absolutely necessary unless Ezra, and the temple and service of God are to be allowed to sanction the use of fermented wine. I think that all fair-minded people will see that such a supposition would be the outcome, not of sober criticism, anxious to discover the truth, but of a strong prejudice, a fierce desire to stigmatise as evil, in every form, and degree, and circumstance, and as always hateful to God, that which has been so fruitful a source of sorrow and sin, down the whole course of human history, and to tear from it every rag and vestige of Divine sanction, or even countenance or tolerance, behind which

it may in any degree shelter itself. The desire is natural and laudable enough, but it must not be allowed to distort our view of the evidence, or predetermine our judgment upon it.

An equally strong instance occurs in Neh. ii. 1. Here we read that wine (*yayin*) was before the king, and that Nehemiah, his cup-bearer, took up the wine and gave it to the king. Are we to imagine that this wine, the kind in ordinary use at the Persian Court, was unfermented? Such an idea is not only baseless, but absurd, when we remember the pictures of Persian Court life furnished by history, sacred and profane.

The book of Esther recounts how, in the famous feast given in the preceding reign of Artaxerxes (the Greek Xerxes), the father of this Artaxerxes, 'the king's heart was merry with wine.' Herodotus, who lived about this time, describes the Persians as being very fond of wine, which they drank in large quantities. "It is also their custom," he says, "to deliberate on important questions when drunk." The decision thus arrived at they review when

sober, and either confirm or set aside. "Sometimes," he adds, "they are sober at their first deliberations, in which case, however, they always reconsider the question under the influence of drink" (Her. i. c. 133). Here is sufficient evidence, from independent witnesses, as to the nature of the wine in general use at the Persian Court. And yet this fermented wine Nehemiah, whose moral purity and strength of character need no proof, countenanced, both by supplying it to the king, and by himself tasting of it beforehand, as was the custom of the royal cup-bearer.

But it may be urged against such a use of this passage, that Nehemiah can hardly be considered to have countenanced the use of what he was merely forced to hand to another. If it was the custom of the Persian king to drink fermented wines, the action of Nehemiah, in merely handing him the wine under compulsion, in no way affected or sanctioned the custom. And the same plea of compulsion may be urged in explanation of his own drink-

ing of the wine before he gave it to his royal master. The plea would be a specious one, were it not that we have further information as to Nehemiah's attitude towards wine. For we learn (Neh. v. 18), that while governor of Jerusalem, he had prepared for him once in ten days 'store of all sorts of wine.' Are we to suppose that all of these were unfermented? Yet such a supposition is absolutely necessary to establish the position of the advocates of unfermented wine. If any one of these numerous kinds of wine was fermented, the fact stands proved that such a man as Nehemiah, the holy, ardent reformer, the restorer of his people's national life and religion, the unflinching rebuker of every departure from right, countenanced the use of fermented wine in his court and at his table, apparently knowing no harm in it except when taken to excess. Nay, more, inasmuch as the language of Scripture is "all sorts of wine," in order to deny that Nehemiah countenanced fermented wine it will be necessary to prove either that

“all” does not mean all here, or that there was at that time no such thing as fermented wine!

In Neh. xiii. 5 we have a reference to a ‘great chamber’ in the Temple, which Tobiah had appropriated to himself, and fully furnished. This was the chamber in which the tithes of the corn, and wine, and oil, which had been assigned by God to the Levites (*cf.* Num. xviii. 21 *et seq.*; Neh. x. 38, 39), should have been stored, and also the tithes of these tithes, which belonged by Divine appointment to the priests. Now it would seem certain, not only for reasons connected with the process of wine-making, and the length of storing which is apparently here contemplated, that some of this wine at least was fermented. For this is the wine which, in ordinary circumstances, the priests and Levites would use, and which they are, by the direct command of God, forbidden to drink while on duty in the sanctuary (Lev. x. 8, 9), as we have already noted.

In Dan. x. 3, Daniel records that he abstained from bread, and flesh, and wine for three

weeks while he was mourning before God. And the inference is unavoidable that it had been his custom to take wine before the three weeks commenced, and that he resumed his use of it when the period of his mourning was over. Now, inasmuch as this was at the Persian Court, it was almost certainly Persian wine, and its fermented nature is almost beyond question. At a much earlier period of his life, when but a young captive at Babylon, he had refused the wine that was offered to him from the king's table. His refusal on that occasion is to be explained, not by the fact that the wine was fermented (as it undoubtedly was), for he refused the meats as well as the wine, but on other grounds. The meats he may have refused, because they might comprise articles of food, such as the flesh of swine, hares, &c., which the law interdicted to the Israelites (Lev. xi.); or because they might not have been so perfectly cleansed from blood as to be allowed by the Jewish law (Deut. xii. 23, 25). A stronger reason than either of the preceding, however,

and one which would affect the wines as well as the meats, is found in the universal custom among the heathen of consecrating each meal by offering a portion of it to their idols, and pouring out libations of wine in their honour. Of this custom the Assyrian sculptures offer abundant illustrations, and it, in itself, would make it impossible for a Jew to partake thereof without defilement.

The second argument advanced by the advocates of unfermented wine is, that two such opposite attitudes as commendation and disapproval could not have been adopted by God, or the servants of God, towards one and the same thing. And, therefore, if we find wine spoken of with approval in one place, and condemned in another, it must be because there were two distinct kinds of wine, a good kind which was unfermented, and incapable of doing any harm, and an evil kind, which was fermented, and incapable of any good use.

Let us look a little into this argument. The slightest examination is sufficient to show its

untenableness. In the first place, as a matter of fact, the two opposite attitudes of condemnation and approval are very commonly adopted towards one and the same thing, in precisely the same sense in which, in the question before us, they are adopted towards wine.

Let us take a few simple examples.

1. The human tongue, at the hand of the same inspired writer, and in the same book, comes in for widely different treatments. It is "as choice silver" (Prov. x. 20); it is "health" (xii. 18); it "useth knowledge aright" (xv. 2); it is "a tree of life" (xv. 4); and its answer "is from the Lord" (xvi. 1). Side by side with these descriptions we are told that "God hateth it" (vi. 17); and it "shall be cut out" (x. 31). It is true that in all the above passages, qualifying terms are joined to the word tongue, but the organ itself is the same in each case. And to take a passage where no such qualifying term is used, St. James declares that "the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity: . . . it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of

nature; and it is set on fire of hell. . . . It is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison" (James iii. 6-8). Was ever stronger language used of wine than this? It would be hard, if not impossible, to find stronger language anywhere, or language more diametrically opposed to that of Solomon, quoted above. Yet no one interprets this striking difference in attitude and language about the tongue, as involving or necessitating a distinction in tongues as to substance or structure.

2. Again, we read (2 Chron. i. 12) that God gave Solomon riches and wealth . . . such as none of the kings had before him, or should have after him. Yet our Lord says, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God" (Mark x. 23).

3. St. Paul condemns knowledge as puffing up man; yet Solomon was praised by God for having chosen it as the greatest blessing, and he himself praises it again and again; *e.g.* "Give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge" (Prov. i. 4). "The wise man layeth up knowledge" (Prov. x. 14).

4. Coming still closer to our special subject, one might, with equal reason, argue that solid food is condemned on its own account, as that wine is; for exactly similar language is used of both. Take, for example, Prov. xxiii. 20: "Be not among wine-bibbers; among riotous eaters of flesh." Here wine-drinking and flesh-eating are equally condemned. If the argument be applied to wine, that because there are other passages where it is allowed, and even commended, since these two diverse attitudes necessitate two different kinds of wine, therefore there must have been two different kinds of wine in the Bible; with equal reason must it be applied to flesh, and the conclusion be established that there are two distinct kinds of flesh, a good kind, which is always commended, and a bad kind, which is always forbidden. Will any one go the length of making the second application? The simple, and almost universally understood explanation is, that the difference in the attitudes and language is caused, not by any essential difference in the things themselves, but by

differences more external to the things. There are not two kinds of tongues, but only one. And what is here praised or blamed as good or evil is not the organ, but the spirit which animates it, and the use to which it is put. There are not two different kinds of riches, a good kind and a bad. Wealth is essentially the same everywhere, and always. What is here described as a blessing, and there as a curse or danger, is not the wealth itself, but the use that is made of it, or the place it holds, or the influence it exercises in the life of its possessor. Neither are there two kinds of knowledge in the abstract. But in one case knowledge produces one effect—intellectual pride, and self-sufficiency, and very often sin; and this evil effect of knowledge is condemned. In another case it is a light, enabling man to order his conversation aright; and for this it is praised, as the greatest of all blessings.

It is not the tongue, but the “evil speaking,” the “back-biting,” the “filthy communication.” It is not wealth, but avarice. It is

not knowledge, but arrogant, self-sufficient, intellectual pride. It is not flesh or solid food, but gluttony. Does any one demur to any of the above statements, or deem them extravagant or insufficient? Do they not voice the common-sense convictions of all people? Then why make a departure from so clear, and simple, and universal a principle when we come to wine. There is not a shred of authority for applying to the passages dealing with wine any different interpretation from that so abundantly illustrated above. It is not wine, but wine-bibbing that is condemned.

Before leaving this part of my subject, let me instance a few passages in support of this fact.

Prov. xxi. 17: "He that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man: he that loveth wine and oil shall not be rich." Here are three things mentioned—pleasure, wine, and oil. Two of them (*viz.* pleasure and oil) are intrinsically good, or, at least, there is no evil in them. They are not condemned on their own account. Indeed they are not condemned at all, strictly

speaking. Nor is their use censured. All that is condemned is an excessive devotion to them, perhaps taken as representatives of the luxuries of life. He that loveth them—that is, allows them to take too strong a hold on his affections, and devotes himself too much to them—will be poor. What reason have we for isolating wine from the other two, and saying that it is here regarded as intrinsically evil, referring to a fermented as contrasted with an unfermented wine? It must be the love of (*i.e.* the excessive devotion to) these things that is condemned, seeing that at least two out of the three are unquestionably good.

Prov. xxiii. 20, 21: “Be not among wine-bibbers; among riotous eaters of flesh: for the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty: and drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags.”

Here, again, we have three things mentioned—wine, flesh, and sleep. And again two of them (*viz.* flesh and sleep) are intrinsically good, and even absolutely necessary. They are

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not condemned in themselves. All that is condemned about them is excessive indulgence in them—gluttony and drowsiness. Now it stands to reason that the third thing, wine, shall be on the same footing in the argument with the other two. It, no more than they, is condemned in itself, but in its excessive, intemperate use—wine-bibbing, not wine; riotous eating, gluttony, not the solid food; drowsiness, or unreasonable and excessive sleep, not sleep itself, are the objects of censure. And so we find in verse 29, that the men who have ‘woe’ and ‘sorrow,’ and ‘contentions’ and ‘babblings,’ and ‘wounds’ and ‘redness of eyes’ are not they who drink wine, but ‘they that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine.’ And so, also, in Isa. v. 11: “Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them!” The woe is pronounced not upon the drinker of wine, but upon him who has so abandoned himself to excess and intemper-

ance that from early morning, before others are up, till late at night, after others have gone to bed, he is following strong drink. And so in verse 22: A woe is uttered against them that are 'mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink.' But for the temperate use of wine there is no censure, as may be most clearly seen from the last passage I shall quote—Eccles. x. 17: "Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness!"

That one passage would be sufficient to prove the position. Neither flesh nor wine is condemned; indeed both are commended. But eating must be in due season, within proper limits, temperately, not in excess; and the drinking of wine must be for strength, not for drunkenness.

CHAPTER IV

OLD TESTAMENT (*continued*)—INDIRECT EVIDENCE FROM ASSOCIATED NATIONS —METHOD OF WINE-MAKING

As a contributory source of information upon this question, we turn next to those nations, contemporary with the Hebrews in Old Testament times, and with which the Hebrews were, at one time or another, associated.

The Hebrews first found their national life by the Nile. 'The beginning of days' for them as a nation was when, changed from a disorganised, or rather unorganised company of slaves into an organised army, under one human leader, and with a common faith in, and worship of one God, they struck out across the desert for their new national home. Centuries later, after they had been long estab-

lished in Canaan, they came into contact, in one degree or another, with Assyria, by which the northern half of the race was carried away captive, and their lands colonised by a heterogeneous medley of immigrants of different nationalities. Somewhat more than a century later, the southern capital fell before the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, and the Hebrews of the Southern Kingdom were transported to Babylon, where they languished in captivity for seventy years. Towards the close of that period, the Babylonian kingdom was overturned by the Medo-Persian army. Then followed, when the times of the prophecies were fulfilled, the decrees of the Persian kings, restoring the exiled people to their land, and providing for the rebuilding of the Temple and city. But it was long before the Jews, in any large numbers, availed themselves of the permission thus granted to them; only gradually and slowly did they return to Palestine.

Thus, roughly speaking, three great nations, at different stages of their life, were for long

and intimately associated with the Jews, and must have exercised strongly formative influences upon their habits of thought, and customs of life—the Egyptians, the Assyrians and Babylonians (whom we may link together as one), and finally the Persians. Among the Egyptians they were as a nation born, and for four hundred years Egyptian modes of thought, and customs, and practices surrounded them. And they must have carried with them into their new life much of what they had seen and learned in the old. Again they are in the house of bondage, surrounded this time by all the influences of Babylonian, and, afterwards, of Persian life. And when, after the exile is over, the first band of returned Jews stands again on the sacred soil of their land, hardly one is there who remembers the going into captivity. Those who returned, almost without exception, had been born in Babylon, and reared to maturity, and even old age, amid Babylonian and Persian customs.

Now, we ask ourselves, had any of these con-

temporary nations any knowledge of unfermented wines? Is there any indication that in Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, or Persia unfermented wine was in common use? And the only answer that can be given is a decided negative.

In Egypt, from the earliest ages, considerable time and care was given to vine cultivation and wine-making, representations of the process of its manufacture being found on tombs belonging to the fourth dynasty; and from frescoes, sculptures, and accounts of ancient customs, as well as other sources of information, we can form a fairly full and accurate idea of the habits of the people. The Egyptian had the reputation of drinking to excess. A very large quantity of wine was consumed, so large, indeed, that the country could not itself supply the demand, and, in the time of Herodotus, twice a year, large consignments were received from Phœnicia and Greece. Even the women were accustomed to indulge freely, and the frescoes which represent their feasts depict scenes in which, with a somewhat coarse

humour, the fermented state of the wines is put beyond question. "Some call the servants 'to support them as they sit, others with difficulty prevent themselves from falling on those behind them; a basin is brought too late by a reluctant servant; and the faded flower which is ready to drop from their heated hands is intended to be characteristic of their own sensations" (*Ancient Egyptians*, Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 52). Prof. G. Maspéro, than whom there is no greater, and few equal authorities upon ancient Egypt, thus describes the drinking habits of the people: "The Egyptian is sober as a rule, but when he allows himself 'a good day,' he never deprives himself of the pleasure of drinking, and has no objection to intoxication. . . . 'There is wine of every variety, white and red; wine from Mareotis, wine from Pelusium, wine 'Star of Horus, Master of Heaven'; native growths from the Oasis, wines of Syena, without counting the wines from Ethiopia, nor the golden wines which the Phœnician galleys bring from

Syria. . . . If you enter (the beer-house) you are scarcely seated before a slave, or a maid-servant, hastens forward and accosts you: 'Drink unto rapture, let it be a good day, listen to the conversation of thy companions and enjoy thyself.' Every moment the invitation is renewed: 'Drink, do not turn away, for I will not leave thee until thou hast drunk.' The formula changes, but the refrain is always the same—'drink, drink, drink,' and again 'drink.' The regular customers do not hesitate to reply to these invitations by jokes, usually of a most innocent kind: 'Come now, bring me eighteen cups of wine with thine own hand. I will drink till I am happy, and the mat under me is a good straw bed upon which I can sleep myself sober.' They discuss together the different effects produced by wine and beer. The wine enlivens and produces benevolence and tenderness; beer makes men dull, stupefies them, and renders them liable to fall into brutal rages. A man tipsy from wine falls on his face, but any one intoxicated by

beer falls and lies on his back. The moralists reprove these excesses, and cannot find words strong enough to express the danger of them. Wine first loosens the tongue of man, even wresting from him dangerous words, and afterwards it prostrates him, so that he is no longer capable of defending his own interests" (*Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, pp. 28-31).

So much for the wines of Egypt and the custom of the people and country where the Hebrew nation spent four hundred years of its infancy, that period in which nations, as well as individuals, are most impressionable and most plastic. Wine was used almost universally by the rich, was freely drunk, even to excess, at the banquets of both men and women, was drunk even by the priests, and offered in the temples to their gods.

Now what about Assyria and Babylon? The same authority (Prof. Maspéro) thus writes: "The Assyrian is sober in ordinary life, but he does not know how to stop if he once allows himself any excess. Wines of Assyria and

Chaldea, wines of Elam, wines from Syria and Phœnicia, wines from Egypt, amphoræ and skins are emptied as soon as opened without visibly quenching the universal thirst. After one or two days (of feasting) no brain is strong enough to resist it, and Nineveh presents the extraordinary spectacle of a whole city in different degrees of intoxication. When the festival is over, several days are required before it resumes its usual aspect. . . . The wines, even the most delicate, are not drunk in their natural state; they are mixed with aromatics and various drugs, which give them a delicious flavour and add tenfold to their strength" (*ibid.*, p. 368). And precisely the same description might be given of Babylon.

Of Persian wines and Persian customs in this respect I have already spoken, and nothing need be added to the evidence there given to prove that in Persia, as little as in Egypt, or Assyria, or Babylonia, was anything known of an unfermented wine.

Professor Rawlinson (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol.

iv.) tells us that "the Persians even of the better sort were in earlier times noted for their temperance and sobriety." They took but one meal a day, and that of the simplest kind, and their sole drink was water. With the success of their arms, and the spread of their power, however, their abstemious habits were changed for the worse. The one meal was commenced early and protracted till night. "Course after course of the light kinds of food flowed on in an almost endless succession. . . . Instead of water, wine became the usual beverage; each man prided himself on the quantity he could drink. . . . Drunkenness even became a sort of institution. Once a year, at the feast of Mithras, the king of Persia, according to Duris, was bound to be drunk. A general practice arose of deliberating on all important affairs under the influence of wine, so that in every household when a family crisis impended, intoxication was a duty."

One thing seems clear from the foregoing account—that the Persians knew no inter-

mediate beverage, such as unfermented wine, between water and fermented wine.

One last line of inquiry lies open to us—an examination of the process of wine-making in vogue in Old Testament times. Does what we know of this process, as in use especially among the Hebrews, afford any countenance to the theory of an unfermented wine, or, on the contrary, do the process and all the circumstances of wine manufacture as carried on by them render such a theory, to say the least, extremely improbable? I think the latter must be seen to be the case.

Fermentation is the change of the albumen and the sugar in the fruit into yeast, and alcohol, and carbonic acid gas. It depends upon air and heat. The moment the skin of the fruit is broken, and the fruit juice comes into contact with the air, that moment the process begins, though its effects may not be seen for some little time. How long a time is necessary to produce visible results may be judged from the following extract: "Within

half-an-hour, in ordinary summer weather, the clearest juice of the grape begins to appear cloudy, to thicken, and to give off bubbles of gas. Fermentation has already commenced, and within three hours a distinct yellow layer of yeast has collected on the surface, and a sensible quantity of alcohol has been formed in the body of the liquid" (James F. W. Johnson, *Chemistry of Common Life*, edition 1880). Now consider the climate of Palestine, the heat of its summer, so much greater than ours, and form your own conclusions as to how long fruit juice would need to be exposed to the action of the air before a considerable amount of alcohol would be formed. I have myself seen in America, cows that had become so intoxicated as to be hardly able to keep on their feet, or to make their way through the wide doors into the barn, simply from eating the fallen and bruised apples which lay by the roadside. The air, acting upon the juice in the bruised fruit, had, in the hot American summer, formed an intoxicating

cider which, taken in large quantities as the animals walked along the road from the pasture to the barn, had produced upon them this effect. And that is by no means an unusual sight.

Now let us look at the process of wine manufacture among the Hebrews.

We have not much definite information on this point in the Bible. From what we have, however, we judge that the ordinary wine-press consisted of two parts, a compartment (גֶּת, *gath*) for holding the fruit to be pressed, and a compartment (יֶקֶב, *yekeb*) for receiving the expressed juice. We find various passages alluding to one or other of these two parts of the wine-press, and in one passage (Joel iii. 13) both parts are mentioned together: "The press (*gath*) is full (*i.e.* of fruit), the vats (*yekeb* translated, 'fats' in the A.V.) overflow (*i.e.* with juice).

That the *gath* was even in early times often of very large proportions, we know from Judges vi. 11, where we read of Gideon threshing his

corn in (not "by," as in the A.V.) it that he might conceal it from the Midianites. In this receptacle the grape juice was pressed out by treading with the feet (*cf.* Isa. lxiii. 2, where winefat is wrong).

Both these compartments (the *gath* and the *yekeb*), says Dr. Driver, "were commonly excavated in the rock (*cf.* Isa. v. 2, "and also made [Hebrew='hewed'] a winepress"; also Matt. xxi. 33), and remains of those dug in ancient times are still to be seen in Palestine. Robinson (*B. R.* iii. 137) describes one: 'On the upper side of a ledge of rock a shallow vat had been dug out eight feet square by fifteen inches deep; . . . two feet below there was another vat, four feet square and three feet deep. The grapes were trodden in the shallow upper vat, and the juice drawn off by a hole at the bottom (still remaining) into the lower vat.' A similar arrangement was in use in 1852 (*vide ibid.*, p. 381).

"Sometimes there were two such lower receptacles communicating with each other attached

to the *gath*; and Schick describes one with three: the must in such cases would be transferred from one to the other in order gradually to clarify" (*Cambridge Bible*, Joel ii. 24).

Now, we ask, putting these unquestionable facts together—the nature of the wine-press (a series of large shallow receptacles cut into the rock, entirely open to the air and the sun); the quickness with which fruit juice begins to ferment, especially in an Eastern climate, between August and September (the time of the vintage gathering); the length of time for which the juice would necessarily be exposed to air and sun in so large, and primitive, and complex a contrivance, as it passed slowly from vat to vat to clarify—how could wine be made under such circumstances without the process of fermentation being set up in it? And yet if *any* fermentation were unavoidable, absolutely unfermented wine was for the ancient Hebrews, under such circumstances, an impossibility, and the whole argument of the unfermented wine theorists goes by the board. For that theory

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depends upon the *entire absence* of fermentation. Once admit fermentation to any extent, and the question becomes one merely of degree, not of essential difference.

I might add to the above considerations, were any confirmation necessary, the fact that such rocky wine-presses would, under the rays of the Eastern summer sun, become intensely hot; and heat is one of the principal factors in producing fermentation. And, moreover, it being absolutely impossible thoroughly to cleanse them after each pressing, dregs of fermented wine would unavoidably be left to mingle with the juice from succeeding pressings, and to hasten its fermentation.

No candid mind can take such facts into consideration without seeing that here also, in our knowledge of the ancient Hebrew method of wine-making, is nothing to countenance the idea, or suggest the possibility of an unfermented wine, but that rather the contrary is established—the impossibility of obtaining an absolutely unfermented wine by these methods.

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Now supposing the wine in the slightest degree fermented before it was put into the bottles, the fermentation would continue in the bottles even though the wine were completely excluded from atmospherical communication. The rate at which it would take place would be slower, but the process would continue, only requiring a certain length of storing to become complete. And such storing it would get, as we know from the fact to which I have already referred, that attached to the Temple was 'a great chamber,' in which were stored the tithes of corn, wine and oil for the Priests and Levites (Neh. xiii. 4, 5, 12, 13). Fully fermented wine would be the necessary consequence, unless the Jews used some process for preventing fermentation from beginning: it would not be sufficient to arrest fermentation after it had begun, for the theory of unfermented wine requires an absolute absence of fermentation. And to establish this position, several facts would first have to be proved. It would be necessary to

prove (1) that such a process was possible with the wine-presses in use among the Hebrews of Old Testament times ; (2) that the Hebrews of that day knew of this process ; (3) that they used it ; (4) that they considered the wine thus produced the only kind fit for the use of good men, the Levites, the Priests, and the service of the Lord. What the likelihood is of our ever being able to establish these four positions we may judge for ourselves. Yet if one of them remain unproven, the unfermented wine theory, as advocated by its most authoritative representatives, must remain an unproven hypothesis.

To review rapidly the ground we have traversed in this inquiry. We have seen that the *onus probandi* rests upon the side of advocates of unfermented wine. We have seen, further, that such proof is entirely lacking ; the etymologies of the various terms for wine in the Old Testament give no support to the theory, but rather throw all the weight of their evidence against it, and the numerous

passages in which wine is referred to, in no instance, either directly or indirectly, favour it, while many of them disprove it. We have seen that fermented wine was countenanced by God and the servants of God. We have seen that the practices of those contemporary nations which must have influenced the Hebrew people at some portion of their life in the Old Testament times knew nothing of such a distinction. And finally, that the process of fermentation and the method of wine-making among the Hebrews in the times under review, almost absolutely preclude the possibility of such a thing as an unfermented wine.

It seems to me, therefore, that we must, for the reasons above given, continue to believe the unfermented wine theory, at least as far as the Old Testament evidence is concerned, an unproved hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

THE EVIDENCE OF THE APOCRYPHA, THE TARGUMS, AND THE WRITINGS OF PHILO AND JOSEPHUS

THE APOCRYPHA

THE word *oînos* occurs in the Apocrypha about sixteen times, and in no instance does it bear any other than its ordinary meaning. There is absolutely nothing in the several contexts to indicate any difference in the nature of the wine it represents. Let us look at some of the passages.

Ecclus. xxxi. 27-29. Here the son of Sirach affirms that "Wine is as good as life to a man, if it be drunk moderately: what life is then to a man that is without wine? for it was made to make men glad. Wine measurably drunk and in season bringeth gladness of the heart, and cheerfulness of the mind. But

wine drunken with excess maketh bitterness of the mind, with brawling and quarrelling."

In 1 Esdras iii. we have the account of the three young men who endeavour to excel each other in wise speeches. "The first wrote wine . . . And he said thus, O ye men, how exceeding strong is wine! it causeth all men to err that drink it. It maketh the mind of the king and of the fatherless to be all one, of the bondman and of the freeman and of the rich. It turneth also every thought into jollity and mirth, so that a man remembereth neither sorrow nor debt. And it maketh every heart rich, so that a man remembereth neither king nor governor; and it maketh to speak all things by talents. And when they are in their cups they forget their love both to friends and brethren, and a little after draw out swords. But when they are from the wine, they remember not what they have done."

In Eccus. ix. 10 we see that the Jews valued wine according to its age. "A new friend is as new wine; when it is old thou shalt drink

it with pleasure." This text reminds us of the words in St. Luke v. 30: "No man also having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith the old is better."

In the Apocrypha we find that a rational and temperate use is commended, while excess is condemned, and the evil consequences vividly portrayed. One fact is as clear as daylight—there is not a single line or word in the Apocrypha which gives the slightest support to the theory of two classes of wine.

THE TARGUMS

Targum (i.e. *translation*) is the name that is applied to a Chaldee version, or paraphrase, of the Old Testament. The origin of the Chaldee paraphrase goes back to the time of Ezra. It became the practice after the Exile, to read the law to the people in public, and then to add an oral paraphrase in the Chaldee dialect. The Chaldee and Syriac were at that time the common languages of the people, so that it was necessary for the old Hebrew of the Law

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to be translated, and the sense and meaning expounded. Thus we read in Neh. viii. 8: "So they read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading."

We do not know the precise time at which these paraphrases were written down. It must have been, however, at a very early period. The generally accepted view is, that the leading Targums date from just before, or about the time of our Lord. The two oldest of them are the Targum of Onkelos on the law, and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the earlier and later prophets. According to tradition, Onkelos was the disciple of the older Gamaliel, so that his Targum must date, at latest, from the first half of the first century of our era. Even taking the latest date, the Targums fall so early within the Christian era as to bear important witness to traditions and customs farther back than our Lord's day.

If the Jews knew of two kinds of wine, fermented and unfermented, and set such weight

upon the distinction as the unfermented wine theory presupposes, surely the Targums would have some reference to the fact? What, then, is the testimony of the Targums on this question?

An examination of the Targums will disclose the fact that they use virtually but one word to designate wine. By one or another form of that word they render almost all the different Hebrew words for wine with which we dealt under the Old Testament Evidence. *Yayin* and *tirosk* they almost uniformly render *khamar* or *khamrah*. For *asis* in Cant. viii. 2 they give no equivalent; but in the other passages, the rendering is *khamar marith* (or *marath*), *pure wine*. *Sobe* is rendered *khamar*, except in Hosea iv. 18, where the Targum, perhaps mistaking the pointing, reads, "their princes multiply feastings with violence." *Mesek* in Ps. lxxv. 8, the Targum renders *mezagath merarthah*, "a mixture of bitterness"; in Prov. xxiii. 30 *mimsak* is paraphrased *baith mizgah*, "a house of mixture." *Shakar* is usually rendered *khamar attiq*, "old wine."

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Thus we see that the word that is generally used for wine by the Targumists is *khamar* or *khamrah*. This word corresponds to the Hebrew כֶּמֶר (*khemer*), which, as we have previously seen, comes from a root meaning *to boil up, to foam, to be agitated, &c.* It is the leading word for wine in the other Semetic tongues, as *yayin* is in the Hebrew, and is a generic term in the same sense that *yayin* is. What *yayin* implies in the inspired original, that, as its equivalent, imply *khamro*, *khamr*, and *khamrah*, in the Peshito Syriac and Arabic translations, as well as in the Chaldee Targums.

What was the nature of *khamar*? We have abundant proof that it was very intoxicating. In Gen. ix. 21 we read of Noah: "And he drank of the wine, and was drunken." Here the Hebrew word for wine is *yayin*. The Targum of Onkelos reads, "And he drank from the *khamrah*, and was drunk." The Syriac has *V'ashte min kamrah*. The old Arabic has *Wa shareba min 'al khamri*. In the Samaritan

Pentateuch the word is used interchangeably with the cognate *omar*, *V'shithah man 'omrah*, ver. 21. But in ver. 24 we read, "Noah awoke from his wine," and the words are "*man khamrah*." It was *khamar*, therefore, according to Onkelos, that made Noah drunk. It was evidently exceedingly intoxicating. In its rendering of the last verse the LXX. is very expressive. It reads, ἐξένηψε δὲ Νῶε ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, "And Noah became sober from the wine."

That the Targumists considered *khamar* a fermented liquor is also seen from their rendering of Gen. xliii. 34: "And they (Joseph's brethren) drank and were merry with him." The Hebrew runs, "And they drank and were well filled with him" וַיִּשְׂתּוּ וַיִּשְׂכְּרוּ עִמּוֹ. The Samaritan version gives, "And they were heavy." The Targums have *v'ravai*, which includes repletion or inebriation; and the Targum of Jonathan adds, as a kind of excuse or explanation, the sentence, "Because from the day in which they were separated, they had not drunk wine (*khamrah*), neither he nor they, until that

day." The Vulgate says actually that "they drank and were inebriated." The Hebrew text does not necessarily imply that they drank to excess; it simply says that they drank largely; but we give the Targum rendering to show that *khamrah* was an intoxicating liquor.

In Ps. lxxviii. 65 we read, "Then the Lord awaked as one out of sleep, and like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine." The Hebrew text is, "As a mighty one recovering himself from wine." The Targum is emphatic, "As a man having recovered himself from wine" (*khamar*), and the allusion to sleep in the first clause strongly supports the position that the reference is to an intoxicating wine. Again, in Ps. cvii. 27 we read, "They reel to and fro and stagger like a drunken man." The Targum rendering is, "like the deep drinker of wine" (*ravyah dakhamar*). From the Targum on Proverbs we learn that it is *khamrah* that Solomon declares to be the cause of sorrow and woe. And in Isa. xlix. 26 we read, "And they shall be drunken with their own blood

as with sweet wine." The Targum reads, "And as they are satiated with pure wine (*makhamar marith*), so the beasts of the field shall be satiated with their blood."

We see, therefore, from the foregoing passage that the word *khamar* refers to a fermented liquor. There is not a single instance where it can be shown to mean the unfermented juice of the grape.

We have also the testimony of the Targums as to the nature and use of *tirosh*. They prove, in the first place, that it was a liquid, not the solid grape. In Gen. xxi. 28, when Isaac blessed his son Jacob he said, "God give thee the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine." It has been asserted that the association here, and in many other passages, of *tirosh* with corn, as a product of the soil, proves it to have been a solid substance, and not a liquid. But we find that the Targumists translate *tirosh* in this passage by *khamar*; and that *khamar* was a liquid is evident from Num. xxviii. 7, where the Targums

of Onkelos, Jerusalem, and Jonathan all speak of *khamar* being poured out to the Lord. Then, again, this liquid was, according to the Targums, offered to the Lord. In Num. xviii. 12 we read, "All the best of the oil and all the best of the wine (*tirosh*, which the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan translate by *khamar*), and of the wheat, the first-fruits of them which they shall offer unto the Lord." In Num. xxviii. 7 we read, "And the drink-offering thereof shall be the fourth part of an hin for the one lamb; in the holy place shalt thou cause the strong wine to be poured unto the Lord for a drink-offering." The Hebrew word here translated "strong wine" is *shekar*. The Targum of Onkelos has "a libation of old wine" (*dakhamar attiq*). The Targum of Jerusalem has *khamar bekhir*, "a choice wine." Jonathan agrees with Onkelos, but adds, "If old wine cannot be found, let wine of forty days be poured out before the Lord."

In Judges ix. 13 we read, "And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine (*tirosh*),

which cheereth God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?" The Targum of Jonathan renders this passage thus, "How should I forsake my wine (*khamri*) from which the princes make their libation before the Lord and in which they rejoice?"

The Targum of Onkelos informs us that it was *khamar* that Melchizedek gave to Abraham.

Once more if we turn to that important passage, Hos. iv. 11, we find that Jonathan renders the words *yayin* and *tiros* by *khamrah* and *ravyethah*, *wine* and *satiation* (or *drunkenness*). Now the Hebrew verb *ravah* (רָוַח) means *to be or become satiated with drink*. *R'vah* (the Chaldee form of the Hebrew *ravah*) refers primarily, in both Chaldee and Syriac, to the effects of intoxicating wine. Buxtorf, the highest authority, here gives "*Inebriari, Irrigari; respondet Hebraeis Shekar et Ravah.*" And as the first illustration, he quotes (rendering it in Latin) Onkelos in Gen. ix. 21, "*et bibit ex vino et inebriatus fuit*" (וַיִּשְׁחֵי מִן הַמָּדָא וַיִּרְוַח). The adject-

tives *ravey* and *ravya* he translates *ebrius*, *ebriosus*, *temulentus*, and the noun *ravyetha*, *inebriatio*. In fact it is the same word, in its Chaldee form, as that used in the Peshito Syriac in the same verse, which Castello renders by *ebrietas*, *vinolentia*, *habitual drunkenness*, and which occurs four times in the New Testament Peshito with substantially the same meaning. It is not necessary for us to make any further quotations from the Targums, for their testimony throughout is abundant and uniform. The passages which we have examined set forth very clearly five things : (1) That there is no trace whatsoever that the writers of the Targums knew anything at all about an unfermented wine ; (2) that *khamar* was a fermented liquor ; (3) that it was partaken of by good men ; (4) that it was offered to the Lord ; (5) that they regarded *tirosh* not only as a liquid, but as a fermented liquid. The voice of the Targums from first to last, like that of the inspired originals, gives no uncertain sound ; but no evidence can be found therein for two kinds of wine, evil and good, nor is there the

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slightest reference to must preserved permanently in an unfermented state.

PHILO

The writings of the Jewish philosopher Philo demand the next consideration. He was born at Alexandria about 20 B.C., and was a descendant of the priestly tribe. He occupied a position of high social and political influence. His writings, which are numerous, are of an exegetical, political, and philosophical character, and were greatly esteemed by his own and subsequent ages. He philosophises at great length upon the legal system of his own nation, and on peculiarities of custom, which affords him an unusual opportunity for remarking on distinctions in the nature and uses of wine. In his treatise on "Drunkenness" he says, "But now let us consider what is the opinion of the law-giver, who was in all respects great and wise, on this subject; for in many places of his history of the giving of the law he men-

tions wine, and the plant which produces wine, namely the vine; and he commands some persons to drink, but some he does not permit to do so; and at times he gives contrary directions to the same people, ordering them sometimes to drink, and sometimes to abstain. These, therefore, are the persons who have taken the great vow, to whom it is expressly forbidden to drink unmixed wine, being the priests who are engaged in offering sacrifices. But those who drink wine are numerous beyond all calculation, and among them are all those who are especially praised by the lawgiver for their virtue." That this does not mean that the priests never used wine, but merely that they were forbidden it during the time of their actual ministrations, is proved by other statements of his. He mentions, in a number of places, that the priests received by Divine appointment from the people, for their support, the first-fruits of wine, as well as of oil, flour, &c.

In his treatise on "The Rewards of Priests", he says God "commands the nation also to give

them the first-fruits of their other possessions, a portion of wine out of each wine-press." We cannot think that the unfermented juice of the grape could have been uniformly presented to the priests; where the legal offerings had to be carried some distance such a thing would be impossible, and it is absurd to suppose that in other cases every Jew hurried with his newly pressed must to the priests, before it had time to ferment.

In his treatise on "Humanity" he says, "The laws command that the people should offer to the priests first-fruits of corn and wine and oil, &c."

In his "Questions and Solutions," when dwelling upon the statement made of Noah, "He drank of the wine, and was drunken," after allegorising somewhat, in the usual manner, he says, "The expression 'he was drunken' is here to be taken simply as equivalent to 'he used the wine.' But there are two modes of getting drunk: the one is that of an intemperate sottishness, which misuses wine, and this offence is peculiar to the depraved and wicked man; the

other is the use of wine, and this belongs to the wise. It is therefore in the second of these meanings that the consistent and wise Noah is here called 'drunken,' not as having misused, but as having used wine." Whatever we may think of Philo's argument,—however much we may disagree with his interpretation of the passage, one thing is abundantly clear from it, viz. that he had no idea of an unfermented wine. He knows only of an intoxicating wine, and will not allow that its use by Noah, even to the point of intoxication, was wrong.

In his treatise on "The Planting of Noah" we read, "So also unmixed wine being poured forth in abundance makes the man who is the slave of his passions still more subservient to them, but it renders him who has them under control more manageable and amiable. Who indeed is there who does not know, that of two opposite things, when one kind is suitable to most people, the other kind must of necessity be suited to some? As, for instance, white and black are two opposite colours: if white is suit-

able both to good and to bad things, then black must also be necessarily equally suitable to both, and not to one of the two alone. And again, to be sober and to be drunk are two opposite things; accordingly, both bad men and good, as the ancient proverb says, partake of sobriety; therefore also, drunkenness is suitable to both classes. Therefore the virtuous will get drunk without losing any of his virtue by it."

In his treatise on the "Allegories of the Sacred Laws" he says, "And this kingly mind shall bring forth food full of cheerfulness and joy; for 'he (Melchisedek) brought forth bread and wine.' . . . But Melchisedek shall bring forward wine instead of water, and shall give your souls to drink, and shall cheer them with unmixed wine, in order that they may be wholly occupied with a divine intoxication more sober than sobriety itself."

In his treatise on "Monarchy" there is a passage which the advocates of the unfermented wine theory have sometimes cited to show that Philo adduces the legal prohibition to the

priests as indicating the duty of entire abstinence from wine. But this is not true. The passage runs thus. Referring to the Divine command (Lev. x. 9) forbidding the priests to drink wine or strong drink when they were on duty in the tabernacle, he says, "God issues additional commandments, and orders Aaron, whenever he approaches the altar and touches the sacrifices at the time when it is appointed for him to perform his sacred ministrations, not to drink wine or any other strong drink, on account of four most important reasons—hesitation, and forgetfulness, and sleep, and folly. For the intemperate man relaxes the powers of his frame and renders his limbs more slow of motion, and makes his whole body more inclined to hesitation, and compels it by force to become drowsy. And he also relaxes the energies of his soul, and so becomes the cause to it of forgetfulness and folly. But in the case of abstemious men all parts of the body are lighter, and, as such, more active and movable, and the outer senses are more pure and unalloyed, and the mind is

gifted with a more acute sight, so that it is able to see things beforehand, and never forgets what it has previously seen. In a word indeed, it must be considered that the use of wine is more unprofitable to the soul for all the purposes of life, inasmuch as by it the soul is weighed down, the outward senses are dimmed, and the body is enervated. For it does not leave any one of our faculties free and unembarrassed, but is a hindrance to every one of them, so as to impede its attaining that object for which it is by nature fitted. But in sacred ceremonies and holy rites this mischief is most grievous of all, in proportion as it is worse and more intolerable to sin with respect to God than with respect to man, on which account it probably is that it is commanded to the priests to offer sacrifices without wine, in order to make a difference and distinction between sacred and profane things, and pure and impure things, and lawful and unlawful things."

Now if we carefully examine this passage we will see that there is nothing in it to show that

Philo knew of two different kinds of wine. To begin with, he refers to the law forbidding the priests to drink wine or strong drink when they were on duty in the tabernacle. He mentions that the law only dealt with the time when they approach the altar — when they are on duty. And then he gives the reason why they were forbidden to drink wine, viz. because intemperance when ministering at the altar was a sin that must be strenuously avoided. “For the intemperate man,” he says, “relaxes the powers of his frame and renders his limbs more slow of motion, and makes his whole body more inclined to hesitation, and compels it by force to become drowsy, &c.” What Philo says here we all agree with. Intemperance does affect body and mind as well as soul. But the prohibition only referred to the time of the priests’ actual ministrations. At other times not only were they allowed to use wine, but by Divine appointment, as Philo mentions, in a number of instances they received from the people, for their support, the first-fruits of wine, as well as of oil, flour, &c. If Philo did

know of two kinds of wine, one fermented and altogether unfit for use, the other unfermented and good, why does he not mention the fact? He only mentions one kind of wine, the intemperate use of which brings on "hesitation, and forgetfulness, and sleep, and folly."

In his treatise on "Drunkenness" he says, "For by its own nature the human race is very fond of wine, and this is the sole thing of which it is immeasurably insatiable, since there is no one who is impossible to be satisfied with sleep, and eating, and carnal enjoyments, and things like these; but nearly every one is insatiably fond of wine, and especially those who are occupied with serious business; for after they have drunk they are still thirsty, and they begin drinking at first out of small cups, then as they proceed they tell their servants to bring them wine in larger goblets, and when they are pretty full and getting riotous, being no longer able to restrain themselves, they take bowls and goblets of all the largest sizes that they can get, and drink the wine unmixed in huge draughts,

until they are either overcome by deep sleep, being no longer able to govern themselves, or till what they have poured into themselves is vomited out again through repletion. But even then, nevertheless, the insatiable desire which exists within them continues to rage as though it were still under the influence of hunger."

From all these passages we learn that Philo evidently knew nothing about an unfermented wine. He never even once refers to such a liquid. Throughout all his writings there is absolutely no intimation of any knowledge possessed by him of two varieties of wine, opposite in nature—one intoxicating and the other not. In no instance can it be shown that he uses the word *oinos* except in its ordinary meaning. Then again he saw no harm in drinking intoxicating wine. Good men used it, and approved of its use. Philo informs us that the great law-giver Moses gave certain regulations regarding its use, permitting some to partake of the very same liquid that he denied to others, again at other times giving "contrary directions to the

same people, ordering them sometimes to drink, and sometimes to abstain." He informs us that it was presented to the priests, and that Melchisedek gave it to Abraham.

JOSEPHUS

We come now to an examination of the writings of Josephus, to see if he knew anything of two kinds of wine.

Flavius Josephus was born at Jerusalem in A.D. 37. He was thoroughly acquainted with Hebrew literature. Giving, as he does, a history of the political and social condition of the Jews from the beginning of their separate existence as a nation until his own time, as well as a brief account of the human race from the Creation, we may reasonably expect to find in his writings some statements bearing upon this question.

In his autobiography he tells us how on one occasion, being anxious to procure some important information from a soldier, he resorted to a very shrewd bit of diplomacy in order to

obtain it. "I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means, and I said to him, 'If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest.' So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great deal of wine in order to get the more money, and was so drunk, that at last he could not keep the secret he was entrusted with."

Then again, when he describes how, by stratagem, he preserved the city of Tiberias from the Galileans, he says, "I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king."

In the First Book of his Antiquities, he gives an account of Noah's sin. "Noah, when, after the deluge, the earth was resettled in its former condition, set about its cultivation; and when he had planted it with vines, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and, being drunk, he fell asleep."

In the description here given we evidently have different stages in a long process, each stage covering a considerable time; for instance, the planting with vines, the maturing of the fruit, the gathering of the crop, and the preparation of the wine for use. Evidently to Josephus wine-making was a process which involved such a length of time as to necessitate fermentation.

It is important also to notice that apparently the wine was not "ready for use," according to Josephus, until in that state in which Noah drank it, which was manifestly fermented.

In Book I. chap ix. Josephus gives an account of how Abraham with a comparatively small force conquered the hosts of the four confederate Assyrian kings. The enemy, supposing themselves perfectly secure, neglected to take the necessary precautions, and so left themselves open to a successful night attack. And he adds, perhaps following some local tradition, that while some were asleep in bed, others, who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk that they could not fight, ran away.

The dream of Pharaoh's butler, recorded in Gen. xi., together with the version of it given by Josephus, have been taken to support the view that the butler was in the habit of squeezing the grapes and giving the liquid at once to the king to drink. But as the Ven. Arch. Lord Harvey, M.A., shows in his article "Joseph" in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, no inference can be drawn from the dream as to the kind of wine supplied to the kings of Egypt at this time. All the stages—budding, blossoming, fruit-bearing, &c.—are described as taking place with unnatural rapidity. "The nature of the dream, which embraces a long period, and merely indicates the various stages of the growth of the tree and fruit as though immediately following one another, would allow the omission of the process of preparing the wine." Josephus says, "he (the cup-bearer) squeezed them (the grapes) into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink." Now it is clear that

Josephus is not attempting to give an explanation of the method of making the wine. We cannot suppose that the king held the cup in his hand while the juice was pressed into it, that he then gave the cup back to the cup-bearer that the liquid might be strained, and that he waited until the wine was cleansed, and then received it again from the cup-bearer and drank it off. All that the dream was meant to show was that the butler would be restored to his old position, that he would again prepare the wine for the king. Dr. Alexander Macalister, F.R.S., F.S.A., says, "The collecting of juice from the grapes which the chief butler in his dream squeezed into the cup was plainly only a symbol, as in the dream he saw the whole process of budding, blossoming, and fruiting taking place. There is no evidence of any such custom as squeezing grapes into a cup for royal or guest refreshment" (*Dict. of Bible*, by Dr. Hastings).

In the eleventh Book of his *Antiquities*, he records the answers given to King Darius'

question as to which was the strongest, wine, kings, women, or truth. The first sage replied, 'Wine, O ye men, I find exceeds everything. It deceives the minds of those who drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state as that of the orphan and he who stands in need of a tutor; . . . it quenches the sorrow of those that are under calamities, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others; . . . it takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions, for it arms men even against those that are dearest to them; . . . and when they are become sober, and they have slept out their wine in the night, they arise without knowing anything they have done in their cups."

Now in all these instances it is evident enough what the nature of the *oinos* was which is referred to, and what the manner of its use. In a few instances he connects wine with oil and flour and wheat, in the sense of provisions, as the Canonical Scriptures and Philo do. He mentions that the Nazarites use no wine,

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(Book iv. chap. iv.), that the priests are not allowed to drink wine during the time of their service in the Temple, "lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration" (Wars, Book v. chap. v. sec. 7), and that in the divinely appointed sacrifice "they bring the same quantity of oil as of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar" (Book iii. chap. ix. 3, 4).

After a careful examination of Josephus, we find that throughout his writings he refers to wine in a merely incidental manner; and he makes no statement or even hint of the existence of two classes—good wine and evil—fermented and unfermented—one variety in itself a blessing, and the other a curse.

CHAPTER VI

EVIDENCE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

WE now come to the evidence upon this question furnished by the New Testament.

Two words are used in the New Testament to designate wine, viz. *γλεῦκος* and *οἶνος*.

The first of these (*γλεῦκος*), which was the word used by the Greeks for must, occurs only once (Acts ii. 13), and there an inebriating power is ascribed to it: "But others mocking said, They are filled with new wine (*γλεῦκος*)."

It has been suggested that the accusation of drunkenness here made was not seriously intended, but only uttered in derision, as though one should say, "They are drunk with water." To such extravagances in exegesis will even noble theories sometimes drive their strong advocates. And yet this interpretation is abso-

lutely necessary if γλεῦκος was not intoxicating. But the sequel proves the reverse, for St. Peter evidently considered the charge a serious one, and calling for a serious defence: "These men are not drunken as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day." The charge had a certain basis of reasonableness beneath it. All the strange phenomena consequent upon the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit might have produced upon the cursory observer the impression of intoxication. There would appear to be a certain superficial similarity between the two states, if we may judge from the Apostolic injunction, "Be not drunk with wine . . . but be filled with the Spirit" (Eph. v. 18). But an intemperate indulgence in γλεῦκος had in reality no part in producing these scenes. Yet another consideration showing the intoxicating power of the γλεῦκος here spoken of, is found in the age of the liquor. This "new wine" must have been about eight months old, since about that length of time had elapsed between the vintage and the feast of Pentecost.

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But though this is the only passage in the New Testament from which we can gather the nature of *γλεῦκος*, there is a passage in the LXX. rendering of Job xxxii. 19 which may be called in evidence on the same point: "My belly is as wine (LXX. *γλεῦκος*) which hath no vent; it is ready to burst like new bottles." And the Vulgate renders the same passage thus: "En venter meus quasi mustum absque spiraculo quod lagunculas novas dirumpit" ("Behold, my belly is as must (or new wine) without a vent, which bursts asunder new vessels"). Here the presence of fermentation in the new wine (or must, or *γλεῦκος*) is not only certain, but absolutely essential to the meaning of the text.

Turning now to the second word for wine in the New Testament, the word *οἶνος*, the commonest Greek word for wine, occurs thirty-three times. Its meaning, as given by Liddell and Scott, is (1) the fermented juice of the grape, (2) the fermented juice of other vegetable products. The same assertion has been advanced

in reference to *οἶνος* as we have already noticed in connection with the Hebrew *yayin*, viz. that it is a generic term embracing two species, fermented and unfermented. And the same answer must be returned. *Οἶνος* is undoubtedly used in a loose way, and in a generic sense. There are many different species of wine embraced under it. But they are species formed, not by the presence or absence of fermentation, but by the different vegetable products from which they have been derived. Thus there were barley wine (*οἶνος ἐκ κριθῶν*, a kind of beer), palm wine, and lotus wine, and to distinguish grape wine from these the adjective *ἀμπέλινος* was sometimes added to the substantive. If the qualifying phrase was omitted and the word *οἶνος* used by itself, it became, as has been said, a general, generic term. But all the different species, to say the least, *might* have been fermented, and we maintain that, so far as our knowledge goes, they were fermented. It is not enough to assert, as though it were a new discovery, what no one has ever denied, or even

overlooked, that *oîvos* is a generic term, and then quietly assume, in a cool begging of the question, that the two species are fermented and unfermented. We have seen what the species were. That these were again subdivided into fermented and unfermented is a further question, the whole onus of proving which rests with those who have advanced the assertion. And for this they have not a scrap of evidence. There is abundant evidence of fermented *oîvos*; there is none that an unfermented form of it was known and used as a distinct kind.

The earliest references to *oîvos* in Greek literature are manifestly to a fermented liquor. If we turn to the *Odyssey* (xviii. 330, 390) we can see how intoxicating, and even maddening, were the properties of Homer's *oîvos* when too freely partaken of. Moreover, Homer's heroes are represented as drinking their wine mixed with water, which was a clear proof that it was fermented. And the concurrent testimony of antiquity affirms that this was a most ancient custom; in fact, that it was a sign of civilisation.

To drink wine *ἄκρατος*, or unmixed, was to “drink like a Scythian,” *i.e.* a barbarian. Dr. Mahaffy (Professor of Ancient History in the University of Dublin) says of the wine of the ancient Greeks, “When to be used, it was often strained and cooled with snow, and always mixed with a good deal of water. Half-and-half was the strongest mixture allowed among respectable people, and the use of pure wine was rejected as low and dangerous, and only fit for northern barbarians. In the present day the wines of Greece, which are strong, are distasteful to the natives, and even to travellers, without water, and this natural consequence of a Southern climate is increased by the strong flavour of fir-tree resin which the Greeks add to almost all their wines” (*Greek Antiquities*, p. 33). “Wine was always drunk diluted, and to drink it *ἄκρατον* was looked on as a barbarism. . . . The custom of diluting wine can be traced up to the earliest periods, and its origin is referred to Amphictyon” (Becker’s *Charicles*, pp. 256, 257).

We come now to consider the important

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question, Did our Lord sanction the use of fermented wine? That He sanctioned the use of *oinos* is beyond dispute, but was the *oinos* which He sanctioned fermented or unfermented? Let us examine and see.

CHRIST TURNING WATER INTO WINE

In the second chapter of St. John's Gospel we have the account of the marriage at Cana of Galilee. Those who maintain that it is a sin to drink fermented liquor in any quantity as a beverage, affirm that the wine made by our Lord was not in any degree intoxicating, being but the fresh juice of the grape. Now to any honest reader of the story, it must appear evident that the wine miraculously made was the ordinary, common wine of the country, the same kind that was usually used at wedding feasts, only of course of a very superior quality. The wine was tasted and judged by one who knew neither how it was produced,

nor whence it came; and "when the ruler of the feast had tasted the water that was made wine, and knew not whence it was: (but the servants which drew the water knew;) the governor of the feast called the bridegroom, and saith unto him, Every man setteth on first the good wine; and when men have drunk freely, then that which is worse: thou hast kept the good wine until now." Clearly enough, there was nothing remarkable about this wine, except its superior quality. The word translated in the A.V. "have well drunk," and in the R.V. "have drunk freely," is very strong, and means literally "have become drunken" (*μεθυσοθῶσω*), but as Dr. Godet has said, "it is not necessary to attenuate its meaning in order to remove from the guests at the marriage feast every suspicion of intemperance. For the saying is used in a proverbial sense, and does not apply to the actual company" (*Godet on John*, vol. ii. p. 12).

We must therefore dismiss the idea that the wine made by our Lord was only

grape syrup, and was not in the least fermented. It was similar to the ordinary wine of the country. We cannot, even to support so noble a cause as that of temperance, give any other than the true and honest interpretation of the Word of God. Truth is always best. To attempt to bolster up a cause, however great, by an argument that is untenable, will only prove in the end to be injurious to it, for the moment the weakness of the argument is discovered, the cause suffers irreparably.

An argument in favour of the unfermented character of this wine is drawn from the apparently very large quantity that was made. The stone jars held two or three baths apiece. The Hebrew *bath* is rendered in the LXX. version of 2 Chron. iv. 5 by *μετρητής*, and was equal to about seven and a half gallons. Lange suggests that perhaps the *μετρητής* may be the Roman amphora, which was equal to five gallons. In any case, however, the amount would have been very large if all the water

was changed into wine. But there is no necessity to suppose that all the water was changed. Dr. Moulton and Dr. Westcott suggest that the water-pots were filled with water, and that the wine was drawn from the water supply to which the servants had access, and that no more wine was provided than what was brought to the governor of the feast. Bishop Westcott thinks that the exact words exclude the very common notion that all the water in the six jars was turned into wine. There is, therefore, no necessity for assuming that any more wine was made than was required at the feast.

THE LEATHERN BOTTLES

In St. Matt. ix. 17 we read, "Neither do men put new wine (*oinon neon*) into old bottles: else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish: but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved."

It is argued that new wine was unfermented,

and that the object of putting it into bottles was to keep it sweet and prevent fermentation; and that new bottles would be used for the purpose, because in the old bottles there would be some of the decayed albuminous matter of the former contents still adhering to their sides, which would set up fermentation in the new wine.

In reply, we deny that the new wine was unfermented before bottling, and we further maintain, that not even if it were so would this bottling keep it from fermentation. For the leather bottles were not air-tight. We shall show presently that the wine in them was subject to a constant evaporation of which the ancients were perfectly cognisant, and which was one of the reasons for their use of this kind of bottle; so that fermentation could not be prevented from taking place within them. And therefore, even if the new wine were unfermented before bottling, some other kind of bottles than skin ones would have to be used if it was to be kept so.

But again, even supposing, for the time being, that these leather bottles were air-tight, the fact remains that either the slightest presence of fermentation in the wine before its bottling, or the admission of the smallest quantity of air into the bottles with the wine at the time of bottling, would be enough to produce fermentation throughout the liquor. As proof and illustration of this fact, the following extract from Prof. G. Mulder (Professor of Chemistry in the University of Utrecht) is clear: "Many years ago an experiment was tried by Gay-Lussac, which appeared to prove that although air was essential to the promotion of fermentation, yet that *only so much was required as might serve to initiate the process, which would then be continued and ended without it.* He placed grapes upon quicksilver freed from all air bubbles, broke them with a metal wire, let them remain in this state quietly for some days, and then he saw no signs of fermentation. When he afterwards introduced a little air bubble, active fermen-

tation was at once excited, and continued without interruption. . . . That little or no air is necessary to the continuance of fermentation is certain " (*Chemistry of Wine*, p. 55).

From this we see that the smallest particle of air is sufficient for the commencement of fermentation, and once it has begun it will continue without interruption. It follows that even if the leather bottles were air-tight (which was not the case), the storing in them of wine which would remain unfermented demanded scientific knowledge and precautions on the part of the Jew in preventing the commencement of fermentation before bottling, and in perfectly excluding all air in the process of bottling, as well as in other matters which form one of the many assumptions upon which the "two wine" theory rests.

In an article contributed to Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, Prof. Alex. Macalister, F.R.S., F.S.A., says, "The preservation of the wine did not mean keeping it from fermentation, *for with the total absence of antiseptic precautions characteristic of Orientals it would have been impossible to do*

so, but the storing of it in bottles which could resist the strain." Indeed the use of leather bottles, so far from proving that the ancients desired to prevent fermentation, would appear to point in the contrary direction. In the same work to which we have already referred (p. 110) Prof. Mulder writes, "The ancients knew that wine improved if kept in leather bottles, and the same result is obtained by keeping it in a wooden vessel; for both leather and wood are more easily penetrated by water than by alcohol; evaporation ensues from both, but more freely from water, and the wine consequently becomes richer in alcohol" (*Chemistry of Wine*, p. 106).

But even assuming the truth of the first two statements (viz. that the new wine was unfermented, and was bottled that it might be preserved in that state), the explanation of the use of new bottles which is suggested (viz. that old bottles would, in all probability, have adhering to them decayed albuminous matter from the old wine, which would set up fermentation in the new), while not in itself impossible, detracts

from the spirit of the comparison, which was manifestly intended to represent the presence of a strong, expansive, penetrating principle in Christianity itself: it was too full of life and energy and power to be held within the old effete Mosaic forms. But the whole theory is altogether inconsistent with Job xxxii. 19, where the distention is described as occurring even in new wine in new bottles: "Behold, my belly is as wine (LXX. = γλεῦκος, Vulgate = *mustum*) which hath no vent; it is ready to burst like new bottles."

OUR LORD CHARGED WITH BEING A WINE-BIBBER

In St. Matt. xi. 18, 19, our Lord admits that He came not as an ascetic. He says, "For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." St. John's diet was simple and uniform, such as the wilderness spontaneously provided. He was a Nazarite. Our Lord's life was eminently social: "He came

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eating and drinking." And as the austerity of St. John's life led his enemies to charge him with being possessed with a devil, so the agreeableness and sociability of our Lord led the same fault-finders to charge Him with indulgence in sensuous delights, with addiction to over-eating and drinking, with pampering His appetite and gratifying a taste for good living.

THE WINE USED AT THE INSTITUTION OF
THE LAST SUPPER

The crucial point of the whole argument, however, lies in the question, What was the wine used by our Lord when He instituted the Holy Communion?

If the Jews knew of two distinct kinds of wine, one fermented and sinful to use, the other unfermented and legitimate, then it becomes perfectly certain that our Lord must have used the unfermented. Or if it can be conclusively shown that the Mosaic law, prohibiting the use of leavened things during the Passover, included

fermented grape juice, then the question is settled : for all right-minded people the matter is put beyond the possibility of further controversy. But, as we have abundantly shown, there is not the faintest shadow of evidence that the Jews knew of two kinds of wine ; there is nothing in Jewish literature, sacred or profane, to indicate it. And if they did not know of such a distinction, it is evident that they could not have observed it in the selection of wine for the Passover festival.

On the other hand, it is claimed by some that the distinction is necessarily involved in the old Mosaic Laws regarding the Passover. They assert, that in view of the prohibition of leaven during that season, the Jews must from Mosaic times have used unfermented wine on such occasions at least. The law forbade *seor* (שֵׂר), yeast, ferment, whatever could excite fermentation, so that fermented grape juice must, by the necessity of the case, have been equally interdicted with fermented bread.

But there is no evidence connecting the prohibition of leaven with any drink. Almost all

the passages explicitly connect the leaven forbidden with solid food, either used for private consumption, or for public sacrifice. The following are the chief passages referring to leaven; Exod. xii. 15, 19, 20, 34, 39; xiii. 3, 7; xxiii. 18; xxxiv. 25; Lev. ii. 11; vi. 17; vii. 13; xxiii. 17; Deut. xvi. 3. Indeed there is no evidence of any drink being used at the Passover in pre-exilic times. The feast was a religious ordinance of strict obligation, with ritual ceremonies most carefully and minutely described. All materials entering into it would be specified, and all those specified were such as could be partaken of only by eating—a lamb, bitter herbs, and unleavened cakes. Had the drinking or non-drinking of wine been in any way contemplated, it is very strange, to say the least, that it is in no way alluded to. If no allusion whatsoever was made to any drink in the original institution, it must have been because the original Mosaic direction did not include drink of any kind; it referred only to the bread that was to be used. Even so strong an advocate of the

unfermented wine theory as Prof. Moses Stuart admits this fact. He says, "I am disposed to believe that the original precept of Moses had reference only to the bread of the Passover, and not to any drink that might be used." In fact he remarks that "not one word is said about any drink on that occasion when it was first instituted" (*Biblia Sac.*, 1843, p. 507).

Further, there is no reason why the prohibition of leaven should apply to drink. The reason for the putting away of leaven is given to us plainly in Exod. xii. 39: "They baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened: because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual." Also Deut. xvi. 3: "Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it: seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the bread of affliction; *for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste*; that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of

Egypt all the days of thy life.” Here we have it stated very clearly that it was the urgency and haste of Israel’s departure from bondage that necessitated the use of *matzoth* or unleavened cakes. The people had no time to wait for the dough to be leavened. They had to take it as it was, in its unprepared state, and fly. And it was this necessity, with the causes which produced it, that the perpetual use of unleavened bread in the memorial feast was intended to symbolise. It was to be commemorative of their haste. There is therefore no reason why the prohibition should apply to drink.

This leads us to notice another explanation of the prohibition of leaven, upon which the advocates of unfermented wine have built what is in many quarters considered one of their strongest arguments. This very common and erroneous view is, that leaven was forbidden because it was a type of sin. It is assumed, that the leavening process being one of corruption—“rotting albumen”—leaven was taken by

God, and understood by Moses and Israel, as symbolical of moral evil, and that herein lay the main reason for its exclusion from the feast. But there is not a particle of evidence that this association of ideas, by which ferment and fermented things are regarded as symbolical of moral corruption and disorder, existed in the minds of the ancient Israelites. We know that subsequently certain words derived from the verbal root *חָמַץ* (*khametz*) were used metaphorically in this sense. For example, in Ps. lxxi. 4 the word *חָמוֹץ* (*khometz*) is used of a "violent man"; in Isa. i. 17 the word *חָמוֹץ* (*khamotz*) is used, according to some, of an oppressor, while others take it in a passive sense, of one oppressed. But we have no ground whatever for the assumption that any such metaphorical reference was intended in the institution of the Passover.

It is true that leaven was generally excluded from the offerings under the Mosaic Law. Yet it was not always excluded. It was present in the case of the two wave-loaves (Lev. xxiii. 17)

that formed part of the offering of first-fruits.

The fact that leaven was forbidden in the meat-offerings, does not in the least militate against our position. The offering of honey also was forbidden, and manifestly for the same reason: "No meat-offering, which ye shall bring unto the Lord, shall be made with leaven: for ye shall burn no leaven, nor any honey, in any offering of the Lord made by fire" (Lev. ii. 11). Bishop Patrick, in his commentary on Leviticus, says on this text, "There are many moral reasons given, both by Jewish and Christian writers, why none of the cakes before mentioned should have any leaven in them, which I shall not here set down. There is some probability in their opinion, who think this was ordered to refresh their memory, by putting them in mind of their deliverance from Egypt. But Maimonides seems to me to have given the best account of this in his *More Nevochim* (par. iii. cap. 46), where he saith, God prohibited this to root out the idolatrous

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customs in those days, as he found in the books of the Zabii, who offered to their gods no bread but leavened. Next to this, the account which Abarbanel gives of it is not to be disregarded, who thinks it was forbidden because it would have made delay if they had waited at the Tabernacle till the fermentation was perfected." With regard to the exclusion of honey from the meat-offerings, both Jewish and Christian writers have given many fanciful explanations. For example, Philo says that honey was forbidden "perhaps because the bee which collects it is not a clean animal, inasmuch as it derives its birth, as the story goes, from the putrefaction and corruption of dead oxen, just as wasps spring from the bodies of horses." But no doubt the true reason for its prohibition was the fact that honey was offered on all the heathen altars. "For," as Bishop Patrick says, "honey was a kind of leaven, and it is certain was used by the heathen in their religious rites: as appears, not only from Maimonides . . . but from a great number of other authors,

who make mention of it: there was scarce any god among the heathen to whom honey was not offered" (Bp. Patrick, Lev. ii. 11). Neither does the use of leaven as a symbol of evil by our Lord and St. Paul furnish a reason why we should fasten such a significance to it in the institution of the Passover, and say that this symbolical meaning was one reason why leaven was prohibited from that Feast. For our Lord in the Parable of the Leaven (Matt. xiii.) uses leaven to symbolise the kingdom of heaven in its growth and power in the world. We are aware that those who insist on an absolute uniformity of symbolism all through the Bible, and who make Jewish ideas of the New Testament in all respects those of the Old Testament also, maintain a different exposition of this parable. The leaven, according to them, is the symbol of corruption, and the teaching of the parable is that the kingdom, which in the previous parable had been prophesied to spread to great extent, was to become internally the prey to

a subtle, silent, and all-pervading decay. Under the fair exterior there would really lie a defection from the faith, ultimately culminating in that state of things which would appear to have been forecast in the Saviour's expression, "When the Son of Man cometh shall He find faith on the earth?" This, it is urged, is the only natural and rational interpretation of the parable, and the only one consistent with that conception of the uniform symbolic significance of leaven with which the Jewish mind had been for centuries familiar and thoroughly imbued. Without going into the arguments that make such an explanation of the leaven here almost impossible with any literal interpretation of our Saviour's language, we may ask how so great a Jew and scholar as the late Dr. Edersheim (Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint, Oxford) could have been so little influenced by Jewish association of ideas as to give an exposition of the parable diametrically opposite to the one just stated. He should have known what leaven meant in Jewish symbolism,

yet his exposition is just that which fits in most naturally with the associated parables, and most accurately with historical truth. Commenting on Matt. xiii. he says, "The first two parables (The Sower and The Tares) were intended to present the mysteries of the Kingdom, as illustrated by the sowing, growing, and intermixture of the seed. The concluding two parables set forth another equally mysterious characteristic of the Kingdom: that of its development and power as contrasted with its small and weak beginnings. In the Parable of the Mustard Seed this is shown as regards the relation of the Kingdom to the outer world; in that of the Leaven, in reference to the world within us. The one exhibits the extensiveness, the other the intensiveness of its power; in both cases, at first hidden, almost imperceptible, and seemingly wholly inadequate to the final result . . . the Kingdom of God, when received within, would seem like leaven hid, but would gradually pervade,

assimilate, and transform the whole of our common life" (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i. pp. 592-3).

In fine, in so far as this argument is based on the principle that ferment and fermented things were in the Scriptures, and in Jewish thought, always symbolical of moral corruption, we reply, that there was no such rigid uniformity in the symbolism of the Bible. We have many instances where the same thing is used in different places as an emblem of different, and sometimes even of opposite persons or principles. Thus, in one place Satan is described as a lion, and in another our Lord is called "The Lion of the tribe of Judah"; in one place a flourishing tree symbolises a righteous man, in another the prosperity of the wicked. Similarly, the rock, the sea, &c., are used in different places to symbolise different things. So that the use of leaven in certain places to symbolise evil would not—even were there no such passages as those above cited, in which that symbolism does not apply—involve

that it is always so used; still less, that it was prohibited from the Passover on that ground. Moses has given us the one and true reason for its exclusion from the Passover, a reason clear and sufficient, and we have no right to add others from "association of ideas" to which there is no allusion whatever in the Word of God until New Testament times.

To summarise the substance of our discussion so far, as to the nature of the wine used at the Passover in Old Testament times, we have shown: (1) That the use of wine was apparently not part of the original institution in Mosiac, or even in pre-exilic times, and therefore that the prohibition of leaven could not have applied to wine in that period; and (2) that even if wine were then used in the Passover feast, there is no warrant, direct or indirect, for thinking that the prohibition was understood by the Jews to extend to it.

But though the use of wine at the Passover was not certainly enjoined, or even contemplated, in the Mosaic Law, and no evidence

of its use in pre-exilic times can be adduced, it had become an established custom in the post-Babylonian period. And all the evidence obtainable as to its nature then clearly proves its fermented state.

The Mishna, in the treatise on the Passover, informs us that four cups of wine were poured out, and blessed, and drunk by each of the company, at the eating of the Paschal Lamb, and that water was also mixed with the wine, because it was considered too strong to be drunk alone (Pesachim, cap. vii. 13; x. 1). Dr. John Lightfoot, in his valuable work *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, throws some light upon the same point. He says, speaking of the Passover, "Bread was to be here at this supper by divine institution: how came the wine to be here? And how much? And of what sort?"

'A tradition (Jerus. Pesachim; fol. 37, 2). It is necessary that a man should cheer up his wife and children for the feast. But how doth he cheer them up? With wine.' The same things are cited (Leusden's edit., vol. ii.

p. 380) in the Babylonian Talmud (Pesash. fol. 109). "The Rabbins deliver," say they, "that a man is obliged to cheer up his wife and his domestics in the feast; as it is said, 'And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast' (Deut. xvi. 14). But how are they cheered up? With wine. R. Judah saith, 'Men are cheered up with something agreeable to them; women, with that which is agreeable to them.' That which is agreeable to men to rejoice them is wine. But what is that which is agreeable to women to cheer them? Rabbi Joseph saith, 'Dyed garments in Babylon, and linen garments in the land of Israel.'" (*Exercitations upon St. Matt.*, p. 350.)

But how much wine was required to be taken by all? Four cups of wine were to be drunk by every one. Even the poorest person in Israel was required to drink the four cups, and if he had not the money necessary to procure them, he must sell or pawn his coat, or hire himself out, in order to get the four cups of wine.

THE MIXED CUP

From the Mishna we learn not only that it was the custom to mix water with the wine used at the Passover, but also what the reason for the custom was; it was done to diminish the strength of the wine, which was too strong to be drunk alone. Babylon Beracoth, fol. 1, states the same fact: "Their wine (יין) was *very strong*, and not fit for drinking without being mixed with water." Accordingly Dr. Lightfoot records the custom, and explains it in the same way, as adopted for the sake of health, and for the avoidance of drunkenness. "שתאין הי יין". If he drinks pure wine, and not mingled with water, he hath performed his duty; but commonly they mingled water with it; hence, when there is a mention of wine in the rubric of the feasts, they always use the word מין, they mingle him a cup. Concerning that mingling, both Talmudists dispute in the fore-cited chapter of the Passover, which see. "The Rabbins have a tradition. Over

wine which hath not water mingled with it, they do not say that blessing, 'Blessed be He that created the fruit of the vine'; but 'Blessed be He that created the fruit of the tree.'" The Gloss "נִם חֹק מֵאֵד", "Their wine was very strong, and not fit to be drunk without water, &c." The Gemarists a little after: "'The wise agree with R. Eleazar, 'That one ought not to bless over the cup of blessing till water be mingled with it.'" The mingling of water with every cup was requisite for health and the avoiding of drunkenness" (*Exercitations upon St. Matt.*, p. 351).

RED WINE

We learn from ancient Jewish authorities that the wine to be used at the Passover must be red wine. Later, in post-Biblical times, white wine was used instead, because the Jews were accused of drinking the blood of Christians at the feast, and it was thought best to make this change in order to remove all ground for

so vile a suspicion. The Jerusalem Talmud orders that the Passover Service shall be celebrated with red wine, יין אדום. And as though to prevent any mistake, or the use of anything else, it is also ordered that it should look and taste like wine. "מצוה לצאת בייך אדום." It is commanded that he should perform this office with red wine. So the Babylonian שיחא בו טעם ומראה צריך, 'It is necessary that it should taste and look like wine.' The Gloss שיחא אדום, that it should be red" (Lightfoot, *ibid.*).

We insert a translation by Dr. Dunlop Moore of a passage from Augusti (*Denkwürd.*, viii. pp. 290-1) upon this point. "In the Orient, red wine was at all times more highly esteemed. . . . Red wine was ordered to be provided for the Passover because it was wont to be stronger than white." Now this fact proves that the wine used must have been fermented, for the colour of the wine comes only from the colouring matter contained in the grape skins, and extracted from them during the

process of fermentation. Professor G. Mulder says, "It is, moreover, sufficiently known that there is a general difference in the colour of grapes, between black, purple, or red and white; the juice of both is colourless, and colourless wine can therefore be obtained from both. If the black, purple, or red grapes are pressed, and the skins thrown aside, a colourless wine, which in substance equals that procured from the juice of white grapes, is obtained by fermentation" (*Chemistry of Wine*, p. 3). Again he says, "When the skins are allowed to ferment a diminution of some, and an admission of other constituents takes place. In the first place, the water of the wine may dissolve some substances from the crushed grape skins; for example, tannic acid. If the action of the water be assisted by alcohol, the solution will be the stronger, and colouring matter extracted from the skins will also be dissolved with the tannic acid, and that in proportion to the quantity of alcohol formed out of the sugar" (*Chemistry of Wine*, p. 2).

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“The colouring matter and the tannin of the red wines are undoubtedly largely imported into them from the skins and the grape stones during fermentation” (*Chambers's Encyclopædia*, art. “Wine”).

“If the production of red wines is intended, the juice is allowed to ferment over the stalks and skins until enough of alcohol has been produced to enable the juice to extract the pigment from the skins” (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. “Wine”).

“The colour of wine is dependent on the mode in which fermentation is effected. Red grapes may be made to yield a white wine if the husks of the grapes be removed before fermentation begins, as in the preparation of champagne and sherry; but if the skins be left in the fermenting mass, the alcohol, as it is formed, dissolves the colouring matter, producing the different shades of red wine” (Miller's *Organic Chemistry*, Part iii. pp. 187, 188).

Here, then, we have another proof of the fer-

mented character of the wine used by the Jews at the Passover. Red wine was ordered, and red wine was fermented. The unfermented juice will not extract the colouring matter from the skins.

The argument that because leaven was forbidden in bread the Old Testament Jews from the first must have understood the prohibition to apply to wine also, and that therefore they could not have used fermented wine during the Passover, being devoid of support from any explicit Scripture statement, appears to be based entirely upon the pure assumption that they understood the chemical nature of the process and state of fermentation in wine, and knew its identity with the leavening of bread. How should they of themselves, without an explicit Divine direction, so extend the application of the command against leaven, unless they knew that leaven and fermentation were one and the same thing? It is necessary to the argument to assume that they possessed that knowledge. But where is the

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proof, or even the likelihood, that they did? Chemistry as a science is, in its higher branches, of comparatively recent date. As evidence, moreover, that the Old Testament Jews did not understand the leavening of bread and the fermentation of liquors to be identical, we have only to see what the ancient definition of unleavened bread was. "According to the Jewish Canons, the command to eat unleavened bread (Exod. xiii. 6; xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 18; Lev. xxiii. 6; Num. xxviii. 17; Deut. xvi. 3) is executed by making the cakes (מצות) which are to be eaten during the seven days, of wheat, barley, spelt, oats, or rye (Mishna, Pesachim, ii. 5). From these five kinds of grain (מיני דגן חמשת), which can be used for actual fermentation, the cakes are to be prepared before the dough begins to ferment; anything else made from one of these five kinds of corn with water constitutes leaven, and must be removed from the house and destroyed; other kinds of produce and preparations made therefrom do not constitute leaven, and

may be eaten. Thus we are told, "Nothing is prohibited on the Feast of Passover because of leaven, except the five kinds of corn, viz. wheat, barley, spelt, oats, rye. Leguminous plants, such as rice, millet, beans, lentils, and the like, in these there is no leaven, and although the meal of rice or the like is kneaded with hot water, and covered with cloths till it rises like leavened dough, yet it may be eaten, for *this is not leaven, but putrefaction*. And even the five kinds of corn, if simply kneaded with the liquor of fruit, without water, are not accounted leaven. Though the dough just made stands a whole day and rises, yet it may be eaten, because the liquor of fruit does not engender fermentation, but acidity. The fruit liquor, oil, wine, milk, honey, olive oil, the juice of apples, of pomegranates, and the like, but no water, is to be used in it, because any admixture of water, however small, produces fermentation" (Maimonides, *Iad Ha-Chezaka Hilchoth Chamez U-Maza*, v. i. 2).

Can any one read such a passage as the

foregoing, written by one of the greatest Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages, and continue to claim for the Jews of the Old Testament times a knowledge of the nature of fermentation? From it three things at least are clear, all proving that they did not possess such knowledge. (1) Here are three things distinguished from one another in such a connection, and in such a manner as to imply a fundamental, an essential and vitally important distinction, viz. fermentation, putrefaction, and acidity. And of the three, only the first is brought under the law of leaven and prohibited, while the remaining two are allowed. Yet it is the simplest fact that all three are equally and alike fermentation. (2) Even in bread, fermentation was only conceived of as taking place in five kinds of grain. (3) And even in their cases, only when the bread was made with water. How can any one, in view of such facts, claim that the Jews, of either Old or New Testament times, must have understood fermented wine to be iden-

tical with leaven, and therefore subject to the same prohibition? On the contrary, all this proves positively and clearly that they did not associate the idea of leaven with fruit juice.¹

FRUIT OF THE VINE

An attempted proof of the unfermented state of the wine used at the institution of the Holy Communion is sometimes drawn from the language of our Lord in the Gospel records. The Synoptists agree in ascribing to Him the use of the phrase "fruit of the vine." Special emphasis is laid upon this fact, and a literal interpretation of the phrase is urged as the only right one. We are told that the word *γέννημα*, both in Classical and Biblical Greek (Septuagint and New Testament), is applied without exception to the natural product as it is gathered and stored, and that the phrase must therefore imply the use of grapes, the

¹ In confirmation that the Jews of to-day do not identify, or in any way connect, fermentation in wine with leaven, compare statement of Prof. C. W. Palotta, given in chap. viii. *The Evidence of Modern Jewish Scholars*, p. 192.

juice of which was pressed into the cup immediately before drinking. The theory which has to resort to such arguments stands self-condemned, for the argument is nothing but the most transparent quibble.

We might reply by calling attention to the fact that several months intervened between the gathering of the vintage and the Passover feast, and that the presence of grapes at the feast would be impossible without some method of preservation. But we do not make this reply, inasmuch as such a practice of preservation, though we deny that it was observed, was not absolutely impossible. We simply point out, in the first place, that the theory is inconsistent with itself. Suppose, for the time being, that such was the practice followed by our Lord. Suppose the grape juice just freshly pressed into the cup. It follows that it was in reference to this *liquid*—the *expressed juice*—and not to the grapes themselves, that the phrase “fruit of the vine” was used. But what then becomes of the argument based upon its

literal interpretation, which was made to demand the grape itself? If the freshly pressed *juice* of the grape can be called, even according to this argument, "the fruit of the vine," why may not the juice which has been some time expressed, be called by the same name? It becomes not a question of essential difference in the interpretation of the periphrastic expression "fruit of the vine," but merely one of *time*. The truth, therefore, is that both sides have to adopt the same position; the phrase "fruit of the vine" was intended to represent the expressed juice of the grape, but whether in a fermented or unfermented state, the phrase itself affords no indication. In fine, the phrase in itself affords absolutely no shred of evidence in support of the unfermented wine theory.

As a further reply in explanation of the phrase, we suggest that our Lord in using this form of expression was obviously merely quoting, as He would most naturally do, the language of the Passover Service, which in all its essential features was the same then as it is now. We shall

see when, in a later chapter, we come to that Service as we have it in the *Haggadah*, how it abounds in such periphrastic expressions, and that among them this very one occurs, the blessing that is used at least four times over the cup being "Blessed art Thou, O Eternal, our God, King of the Universe, *Creator of the fruit of the Vine.*"

And this has been the natural and universal interpretation of the phrase in every period of the Church's history. Clement of Alexandria (who lived in the middle of the second century) in his *Pedagogue*, in which he lays down instructions for the regulation of the new converts, writes thus in reference to our Lord's action in the Last Supper: "And that it was wine which was the thing blessed He showed again; when He said to His disciples, 'I will not drink of the fruit of this vine, till I drink it with you in the kingdom of My Father.'"

Chrysostom likewise, Patriarch of ~~Alexandria~~, and one of the most unflinching reformers of abuses in the Church in his day, so used the

phrase. In his homily on 1 Tim. v. 23 he says, correcting the misdirected zeal of the anti-wine crusaders of his day, "But not only against heretics" (who blame this "creature of God") "is this text useful, but also against the more simple of our brethren, who, when they see some behave improperly through drunkenness, instead of blaming them, revile *the fruit* given by God, saying, let there be no *wine*."

THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH.

Passing on now to the Epistles, we are not left in any doubt as to the intoxicating nature of the wine used by the Corinthian Church. In 1 Cor. xi. we have the picture of the practice of this Church as drawn by the Apostle St. Paul: "When therefore ye assemble yourselves together, it is not possible to eat the Lord's Supper; for in your eating each one taketh before other his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is *drunken*" (1 Cor. xi. 20, R.V.).

Advocates of the unfermented wine theory

have endeavoured to prove that μεθύω, the word here translated "drunken," does not mean to be intoxicated, but only to be gorged, or overfed. Dr. Lees in his *Temperance Bible Commentary* translates thus: "καὶ ὅς μιν πεινᾷ, ὅς δὲ μεθύει—and one indeed is hungry, but another is overfilled = gorged." This explanation, he also tells us, "has been adopted by the whole body of expositors, ancient and modern." But has it? St. Chrysostom, commenting on 1 Cor. xi. 21, says, "εἰς ἀπληστίαν καὶ εἰς μέθην ἐξέβαινον. Διὸ οὐδὲ εἶπεν, ὅς μιν πεινᾷ, ὅς δὲ κορέννυται, ἀλλὰ Μεθύει." And he adds that the Apostle would have used the word κορέννυται, instead of the word μεθύει, if he had meant simply repletion, and not intoxication. The Vulgate renders the word by *ebrius*, drunken. Beza translates the sentence thus: "Hic quidem esurit, ille vero ebrius est." Bengel renders μεθύει, *ebrius est*. Wycliffe translates the phrase thus: "And sothely another is hungrie, another foresoth is drunkyn." Tyndale, "And one is hongrye, and another is dronken." Cranmer, "And one is hongry, and another is droncken."

Dr. Heinrich Meyer in his commentary on 1 Cor. xi. 21 says, “*μεθύει, is drunken*, not giving the exact opposite of *πεινᾷ*, but making the picture all the fuller and more vivid, because *πεινᾷ* and *μεθύει* lead the reader in both cases to imagine for himself the other extreme corresponding to the one specified. We must not weaken the natural force of *μεθ.*, as Grotius does, to ‘*plus satis bibit*,’ see on John ii. 20. Paul paints the scene in strong colours; but who would be warranted in saying that the reality fell at all short of the description?” Dr. Henry Alford, commenting on the text, says, “*πεινᾷ*, one is craving (the poor), another is drunken (the rich). There is no need to soften the meaning of *μεθύει*; as Meyer says, ‘Paul draws the picture in strong colours, and who can say that the reality was less strong?’” If we examine the leading lexicons, we find that their testimony is clear and in perfect harmony with that which we have already given. “*Μεθύω*, to be drunken with wine, to be drenched, or soaked, steeped in any liquor. 2. Metaph., to be drunken or intoxi-

cated with passion, pride, &c. Like the Lat. *inebriari*" (Liddell and Scott). In the New Testament, "*μεθύω* to be drunk, to get drunk, to carouse" (Robinson). The adducing of all this evidence on this point may seem to some to be quite needless, but we are anxious to show how absolutely without foundation are these statements which temperance advocates make in the interests of their theory.

Prof. Moses Stuart, himself an ardent advocate of unfermented wine, concedes the use of fermented wine in the Corinthian Church. In an article in the *Bib. Sac.* for 1843, p. 514, he states: "The custom of drinking common wine at the Sacramental ordinance (which was certainly a very early one, for it must have been practised by the Church at Corinth, as appears from the passage under examination, 1 Cor. xi. 21), was adopted independently of Jewish scruples. . . . The fact that the early Churches made use of common wine stands unquestioned and unquestionable." He attempts to nullify the force of his necessary concession by contending

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that the Gentile Churches used unfermented wine in ignorance of Jewish scruples and customs. But his contention has been proved utterly baseless by Dr. Dunlop Moore, who in his admirable article in the *Presbyterian Review* (Jan. 1882) shows that the Corinthian Church was perfectly familiar with Jewish scruples. "It consisted," Dr. Moore points out, "of Jewish as well as Gentile Christians. It was troubled by Judaizing teachers. It was well acquainted with the law of the Passover in regard to leaven (1 Cor. v. 7, 8). Its members were enjoined to be careful to give no offence to the Jews (1 Cor. x. 32)."

But apart from the question of the Corinthian Church's familiarity or ignorance of Jewish scruples and customs, it must be quite sufficient for the ordinary unprejudiced mind that the Church used fermented wine which was capable of, and actually did produce intoxication in some of its members, *with the sanction of the Apostle Paul*. We submit that were this the only passage in the New Testament where the

use of fermented wine was indubitable, it would render the position of the unfermented wine theorists untenable. Gross abuses had crept into the Corinthian Church in connection with the Lord's Supper, abuses arising in large measure from the fermented nature of the wine then used. Yet we are asked to believe, that there being an unfermented wine in common use, and that kind being the only one allowed to the Jewish Christians, and its use by the Corinthian Church being the only thing which would remove all possibility of such abuses in the future, the Apostle, whose yearnings over this Church have found such forceful and pathetic expressions (2 Cor. vi. 11-13; ii. 4), while censuring them for their abuses, never once hints at either the existence of, or the advisability of using this unfermented wine.

We come now to an examination of 1 Tim. v. 23, where St. Paul, writing to St. Timothy, says, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." The wine here should be, according

to all the principal arguments and considerations of the unfermented wine theorists, unfermented. But unfortunately for them the evidence for its fermented nature is too strong to be denied. Why prescribe "*a little*" if it was that pure and wholesome juice of the grape, the most strengthening and exhilarating of all the drinks then known? And why justify its use by health reasons, "for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities"? Dr Lees (*Temperance Bible Com.*, p. 373), who admits the fermented nature of this wine, seeks to get out of the difficulty in which he is thereby involved, first, by suggesting that the passage is *spurious*!—a cutting of the Gordian knot with a vengeance!—and then by seeking to weaken the meaning of the injunction, and limit its application as far as possible. "Nothing is plainer," he writes, "about this advice than that it was meant for Timothy alone, and for reasons personal to him. . . . The advice itself would be received with filial respect by Timothy, and acted upon with an enlightened spirit. He would use 'a little

wine,' and as seldom as needs be; not for gratification, but for medicinal service." Now in reply we affirm that there is, of course, no ground for considering this text spurious save the interests of a theory. Moreover, even though the amount prescribed was very small, it is a fact which cannot be got round, and which Dr. Lees himself admits, that fermented wine was recommended for use by an Apostle. Conceding that there is here no sanction for the use of intoxicating liquor by men in general, that it was for solely medical purposes that St. Timothy was recommended to take it, and that the Apostle knew very well that the man to whom he was writing—a man who had conformed to the Nazarite rule of abstinence—could be safely given such a recommendation, yet even with such limitations this passage is *totally subversive of the unfermented wine theory*. For that theory maintains the *essential* and *absolute badness of fermented wine*. It is, according to a favourite argument, supported by the etymology of the word alcohol, "poison," incapable of building

up or in any way benefiting the human frame, and doctors who prescribe it in cases of sickness do so only through ignorance or personal inclination. In a word, it is not against the temperate, or occasional, or even merely medicinal, use of fermented wines that these theorists tilt, but against *any use whatsoever*. Yet here one of their most extreme, and yet scholarly, champions admits its use by Timothy, according to an Apostolic injunction of St. Paul.

To summarise briefly, in conclusion, the results of our inquiry into the New Testament evidence, we have discovered the following facts:—

(1) That both the two Greek words used for wine in the New Testament described a fermented liquor in their ordinary and regular usage, and that the onus of proving that they were sometimes used of an unfermented fruit juice as a distinct kind of wine, resting upon those who make that statement, has no support in facts.

(2) That our Lord both used and made fermented wine.

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(3) That the wine used at the Passover was fermented, all arguments as to the Jews extending the prohibition of leaven to drink being absolutely baseless, and actually opposed to facts.

(4) That St. Paul sanctioned the use of fermented wine, even in the Corinthian Church, despite the gross abuses which it in part had occasioned, and recommended it to St. Timothy for medicinal reasons.

It is difficult to see how, in the face of such facts, any but a preoccupied vision, a prejudiced judgment, a mind warped by the terrible evils which drunkenness has undoubtedly wrought, can deny that the wine of the New Testament Church was fermented.

CHAPTER VII

POST-BIBLICAL EVIDENCE

THE most important evidence upon our subject is, of course, derived from the Word of God, yet other testimony is of weight and interest. We shall therefore, in closing our study, examine briefly the practice of the early Church, and the testimonies of modern Rabbis and scholars.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE EARLY CHURCH

It is admitted by the advocates of unfermented wine that there is no explicit mention of unfermented wine by the sub-Apostolic or Primitive Fathers, in the Apostolic Constitutions, or the early Liturgies. There is no proof whatever that the question of fermented *v.* unfermented wine was ever thought of. And

passing on to the period of the Six General Councils, A.D. 325 to A.D. 680, the same may be said. In none of the Synodal Epistles or Canons of those Councils is the subject alluded to.

The assertion is made that unfermented wine did exist in the New Testament and sub-Apostolic times, and that the general command to use wine at the Lord's Supper covered the unfermented kind. But note:—First, the onus of proving the existence of unfermented wine rests entirely upon those who make this assertion, and until they do prove it they have no right to demand the acceptance of their assertion. Second, no such proof is produced, nor, so far as our knowledge of the literature of the period goes, producible. Third, even if the existence of unfermented wine in the New Testament, Apostolic and post-Apostolic, ages were proved, and the general command to use wine were taken to cover it, all that could be established would be its *validity*—that it could properly be used; it would still

remain to be shown that it ever actually was used, and still more that fermented wine was *not* used. It is not enough, as some appear to think, to prove that unfermented wine might have been used (both because of its actual existence at the time, and because of its legality). For the establishment of the unfermented wine theory it is absolutely necessary to prove that unfermented wine was actually used to the exclusion of fermented. The only attempt to establish this last point is a simple begging of the question in an unproved assertion that the Apostles and primitive Christians were "probably nearly all abstainers." What, now, was the actual practice of the Church in sub-Apostolic and subsequent days, as far as we can gather from the literature of the period?

MIXED CHALICE

We have very ancient testimony as to the existence of the custom of mingling water with the wine, a practice which seems to have been carried

into the Christian Church from Judaism. It is a matter of controversy as to whether the custom was generally followed at the Jewish Passover at the time of our Lord, and therefore as to whether our Lord observed it in the institution of the Sacrament. But there is no doubt about it being in vogue at a very early period in the Christian Church. We could not enter here upon an examination of all the early Christian liturgies; their number is far too large; they are found alike in all parts of the Church, from the Malabar coast to the Spanish Peninsula. But we shall examine some of them.

In the Liturgy of St. Mark we read in connection with the Holy Eucharist:—

“*The Priest.* ‘Likewise also the cup after supper, having taken and mingled with wine and water, and looking up to heaven to Thee His own Father, our God, and the God of all, He gave thanks, He blessed, He filled with the Holy Ghost, He distributed it to His holy and blessed Apostles and Disciples, saying (aloud), Drink ye all of this.’”

In the Liturgy of St. James we read :—

“Then he (the priest) takes the cup and saith, ‘Likewise also the cup after supper, having taken and mixed it with wine and water, and having looked up to heaven and displayed it to Thee, His God and Father, He gave thanks, and hallowed, and blessed, and filled with the Holy Ghost, and gave it to us, His disciples, saying, Drink ye all of this.’”

In the Liturgy of St. Clement we read :—

“Likewise also having mingled the cup with wine and water, &c.”

In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom we read :—

“And taking warm water, he (the deacon) saith to the priest, ‘Sir, bless the warm water.’ And the priest blesseth, saying, ‘Blessed is the fervour of Thy saints, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.’ And the deacon pours forth a sufficiency into the holy cup, in the form of a cross, saying,” &c. (Neale and Littledale, *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies*).

‘This is certainly a very extraordinary custom of mixing warm water with the wine at the

Lord's Supper, and it caused great astonishment among the Latins at the Council of Florence. An explanation for the practice was given by Dorotheus, Bishop of Mitylene, with which, it is said, the Pope was satisfied. Unfortunately his explanation has been lost. St. Germanus, however, tells us: "As Blood and warm Water flowed both of them from the side of Christ, thus hot water, poured into the chalice at the time of consecration, gives a full type of the mystery to those who draw that liquid from the chalice, as from the life-giving side of our Lord."

In the Liturgy of Basil the Great we read:—

"Likewise taking the chalice of the fruit of the vine, having mingled, given thanks, blessed, hallowed it" (Neale and Littledale).

We might quote from a great many other liturgies, but the foregoing suffice to show how general the practice of the mixed chalice must have been among the early Christians. In fact one of the points dwelt upon in the Oriental liturgies with respect to the institution of the Blessed Eucharist, is that our

Lord "mingled the cup with wine and water." Whether our Lord did or did not mix water with the wine when He instituted the Holy Communion, is a question that must always remain doubtful to us; but there is one thing perfectly clear, the Churches in Alexandria, and in Jerusalem, &c., where these liturgies were in use, observed the mixed chalice, and did so because they believed that our Lord and His Apostles used it.

Justin Martyr, in the middle of the second century, says in his account of Christian worship at that time: "To each of those who are present a portion of the Eucharistic bread and wine and water are given:" τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου, καὶ οἴνου, καὶ ὕδατος.

Irenæus near the close of the second century mentions the "mixed cup," and the "mixture of the cup" (L. v. c. ii. § 3; ed. Stieren, tome i. p. 718; and L. iv. c. xxxiii, § 2, p. 666).

St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who lived in the latter part of the second century and the first half of the third, refers to and up-

holds the same custom. In one of his Epistles he pleads for the mixed cup on the ground that it was the practice of the Christian Church from Apostolic times, and that both water and wine are necessary from the command and example of Christ Himself.

Bingham in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church* (Bk. 15, ch. 2, sect. 7) discusses the practices of the heretics of the early Church, and shows very clearly that the custom of the Church generally was to use water and wine mixed. He refers to the third Council of Carthage. The decision of that Council upon the Eucharistic elements was: *Ut in Sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur quam ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est panis et vinum aqua mixtum* (Canon xxiv): "That nothing should be offered but what the Lord Himself commanded, that is, bread and wine mingled with water."

In a reference to the third Council of Braga he also says: "The third Council of Braga relates Cyprian's words, correcting several other

abuses that were crept into the administration of the Sacrament. . . . All of which they condemn, and order 'that *nothing but Bread and Wine mingled with Water* be offered according to the determination of the ancient Councils.'"

So much then is certain, that there existed from the very earliest Christian days (perhaps even received from pre-Christian Judaism, and observed by our Lord Himself) a custom of mingling water with the wine in the Eucharistic cup. Prof. Moses Stuart admits the universality of this custom in the early Christian Church. On page 513 of his article, already referred to (p. 145) he says: "It would seem that the ancient Church thought little or nothing of the question as to what particular sort of wine¹ was drunk at the original institution of the Lord's Supper. . . . Not so, however, in regard to the mingling of wine with water. The fact that this custom was universal shows, it must be conceded, that the

¹ *I.e.* What colour. Prof. Stuart admits that the wine used was fermented.

Churches in general regarded it as probable that the Saviour had employed fermented wine."

Now what was the reason for this practice? Many mystical and symbolical reasons are alleged by the early Fathers, who are all agreed as to its antiquity. St. Cyprian, St. Clement and others declare that it has the authority of our Lord's example and the practice of the primitive Church. St. Cyprian goes on to give other reasons why the custom should be observed, as, for example, that the water presents the people, as the wine does the blood of Christ (Bk. ii. Epist. iii.). The author of the Epistle to the Egyptians, under the name of Pope Julius (Julii Epist. ap. Gratian de Consecrat. Dist. 2, cap. 7), insists upon Cyprian's reason, that it is to show the union of Christ with His people. The author of the commentaries upon St. Mark, under the name of St. Jerome (Hieron. in Marc. 14) gives another reason, that by the one (water) we might be purged, and by the other (wine) redeemed from punishment. No sensible person, however, will imagine

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for a moment that any of these reasons, so mystical and fanciful, could have originated the practice. Well, then, what was the cause? The unfermented wine theorists hold that the sole reason was the thickness or great consistency of the wine; it had been reduced to a thick syrup, or even jelly, and was undrinkable without dilution. Infinitely the most probable reason, however, is to be found in its Jewish origin. If it was, as stated by St. Cyprian, Clement, and other early writers, actually observed by our Lord at the original institution of the Eucharist, it must have been because of its being a custom of the Jewish Passover; it must have come into the Lord's Supper from the Passover. Well, then, why was it observed at the Passover? The only answer given by adequate authorities is, not that the wine was too thick, but that it was considered to be *too strong in its undiluted state*. The Mishna, in the treatise on the Passover, informs us that four cups of wine were poured out and blessed and drunk by each

of the company at the eating of the Paschal Lamb; and that water was also mixed with the wine because it was considered too strong to be drunk alone (Pesachim, cap. vii. 13; x. 1). And the Babylonian Talmud assigns the same reason for the custom. "In Lebusch Halicot Pesach, § 172, 11, it is said: 'Præceptum est comparare vinum rubrum, quia id fortius esse solet quam album:' Red wine was ordered to be provided for the Passover because it was wont to be stronger than white."

Now if the custom of the mixed chalice in the Eucharist was derived from the Jewish Passover, the main reason for it in both ceremonies will be the same. And since the sole reason assigned by adequate authorities for dilution at the Passover was not the consistency of the wine, but its "*strength*," the conclusion seems as inevitable as it is simple, that this must have been *at least one* of the reasons in the Eucharist.

So clear indeed is the evidence that Prof. Moses Stuart, despite his strenuous advocacy

of unfermented wine, admits the significance of the custom in the early Christian Churches. In the passage already quoted (p. 158) he writes: "The fact that this custom (*i.e.* the mingling of water with wine) was universal shows, it must be conceded, that the Churches in general regarded it as probable that the Saviour had employed fermented wine." And, again, he states that the early Churches universally mingled the wine with water, "first, and more specifically, *to avoid all approach to intoxication.*"

Were there need of further confirmation of our conclusion that this custom was proof of the fermented nature of the wine, it would be found in the grounds assigned for it in ordinary social life. For the custom was not confined to the Eucharist, but was of universal practice. And why it was to be observed in ordinary life, St. Clement of Alexandria tells us (*Pædag.* ii. 2): "It is best to mix the wine with as much water as possible, and not to have recourse to it as to water, and so get enervated to drunkenness."

THE AGAPE

We have in the foregoing section been adducing evidence of the fermented nature of the Eucharistic wine from the practice of the mixed chalice, as it existed in the Christian Eucharist, and the Jewish Passover. But there was an early Christian feast as intimately connected with the Eucharist as was the Jewish Passover, viz. the *Agape*. And it is from this feast that we gather our next evidence.

The Agape, or Love feast, was a common meal, of which all the members of the Church partook in company. It was one of the signs of their brotherhood, and in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic periods was observed probably every evening. The bread and wine which formed the materials for this social feast were furnished by the wealthier members, and came to be regarded as a kind of offering to the Lord. The exact time relation which the Lord's Supper sustained to this meal is still a matter of dis-

pute, some holding that it prefaced the Agape, others, on the other hand, considering that it formed a conclusion to it. The last view might be considered to find support in the Gospel accounts of our Lord's last Supper with His disciples. In those records we discern two distinct stages in the feast. First there came the feast proper, and then we read, "And as they were eating Jesus took bread, and blessed, and break it; and He gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is My body. And he took a cup, and gave thanks, &c.," thus instituting the Lord's Supper proper. To these two stages it might reasonably be contended that the Agape and the Lord's Supper respectively answered. From 1 Cor. xi. it would appear certain that the Agape preceded the Lord's Supper. The state of things which the Apostle St. Paul there censures was apparently as follows:—The Church had been accustomed to meet for the general common meal or Agape, at the close of which they celebrated the Lord's Supper. But owing to the abuses which had sprung up, the

latter celebration was rendered impossible. "When ye come together into one place, it is not with any idea of eating (or, "it is not possible to eat," or "it cannot be called eating") the Lord's Supper." For the rich who should have provided for their poorer brethren, as well as for themselves, kept their bountiful provision entirely for their own consumption, and the disgraceful results depicted by St. Paul were to be witnessed. "For in eating every one taketh before another his own supper (*i.e.* that which he had brought with him ostensibly as his contribution to the common meal), and one (*i.e.* the poor man who had brought no food) is hungry, and another is drunken." In scenes and practices such as this, how could there be any *possibility*, how could there be any *intention* of celebrating the Lord's Supper?

But whether the Agape always preceded the Lord's Supper or *vice versa*, or whether the order differed in different places, matters little; it remains certain that the one was a continuation of the other, and was bound to it by the

closest ties. Now this being so, it is almost equally certain—indeed we may say beyond controversy—that the same elements which were used in the Agape would be used also in the Lord's Supper thus intimately connected with it. And all evidence that establishes the fermented nature of the wine used at the Agape becomes evidence of the fermented nature of the wine used at the Lord's Supper. And such evidence is not wanting. We have already (in the section treating of the New Testament evidence) dealt with 1 Cor. xi., and have examined the subterfuge resorted to to disprove what to every candid reader must be evident from that passage, viz. that the Corinthian Church at all events used fermented wine at the Agape, and that, though the evils resulting so disastrously from its use might have been easily and instantaneously remedied by the substitution of unfermented wine, the Apostle makes no suggestion of a change, and amid all his trenchant and outspoken censures never once hints at the use of fermented wine as being

the censurable custom. But our concern now is with post-Biblical evidence.

Tertullian (c. A.D. 200) in the *Apologeticus* (chap. xxxix.) says in reference to the wine of the Agape, "Bibitur quantum pudicis est utile:" "As much as is suitable for modest people is drunk." He also mentions a curious custom, that at the conclusion of the Agape "each one is summoned to come forward and sing to God as he is able from the Scriptures, or from his own mind. Hence proof is afforded how he has been drinking."

This is surely very clear and strong evidence. To a mind at all open to argument such language can mean only one thing, viz. that in Tertullian's day the wine used at the Agape was fermented and intoxicating. If it be urged that by Tertullian's time the Agape and the Lord's Supper had been disassociated, we answer, that the Agape was at any rate still a *religious* feast—as the language of Tertullian implies; and it is evident that he and the Church of his day not only did not see anything wrong

or peculiar in the use of intoxicating wine, but regarded it as the natural and proper kind for use at a religious or Church feast.

EARLY HERETICS—HYDROPARASTATÆ, ETC.

Yet a further line of evidence is to be found in the existence of certain heretical sects whose tenets throw a direct light on the question.

It is, of course, well known that there were heretical sects in the early centuries who would not use wine at the Lord's Supper. They used water instead. And for this reason they were called *Hydoparastatæ*, and *Aquarii*, and sometimes *Encratites* (from the Greek term for "temperance").

Now it is interesting to note that these Christians adopted, in part at least, the position of the present-day advocates of unfermented wine. They refused to use wine at the Eucharist because of its intoxicating property and the abuses to which its use was liable. In so far they were the forerunners of the unfermented

wine theorists of to-day. But there the similarity ends. The very existence of such a sect is the most conclusive proof that the Church practically universally used fermented wine. Further, their *use of water* advances us another step in our argument, for it establishes with equal clearness and certainty the non-existence, as far as their knowledge went, of any such drink as *unfermented wine*. In this respect they differed radically from their modern representatives. Surely it is not too great an assumption to suppose that if they knew of such a wine, and thought that the original practice of the Church was to use it, they would have protested against fermented as an *innovation*, and have demanded a return to the primitive custom, themselves setting the example by adopting it at their services. Or if they had no thought that the use of fermented wine was a departure from the Apostolic practice, but yet felt driven themselves to abandon it on account of the fearful evils of intoxication, would they not have changed it

for unfermented wine, as their modern representatives do, had they known that such a wine existed? The plain truth apparent from the rise and practice of these sects is that men at that day knew nothing of an unfermented wine.

Meanwhile what the Church as a whole thought of them is quite evident. They were refuted again and again. They were condemned by Epiphanius and St. Augustine, by Theodoret and others. St. Chrysostom censures them severely, and calls the using of water instead of wine "a pernicious heresy," affirming that our Lord instituted the Holy Sacrament "in wine, and drank wine at His common Table after the Resurrection, to prevent the budding of this wicked heresy." St. Clement of Alexandria, in a long passage which we shall have occasion to quote later (p. 172), is equally emphatic in his denunciation of their position. St. Cyprian, who lived in the third century, speaks in one of his Epistles (Ep. 63 ad Cæcilium) about a certain class

of Aquarii whose practice further strengthens our argument. They differed from other Aquarii in that they used wine, but only in the evening service. Their objection to its use at the morning Communion was apparently not based upon any moral principle, but was from prudential considerations, lest the smell of the wine should discover them to the heathen. Here is another proof of the fermented nature of the wine, for, as Dr. Moore says, "The vinous smell does not belong to unfermented grape juice, but is produced by the fermentation of the must."

GENERAL EVIDENCE FROM THE FATHERS

Besides the passages quoted above, dealing particularly with the early heretics, there are many others in the writings of the Fathers which reveal in the clearest manner the nature of the only wine they were acquainted with, and their attitude towards it.

St. Clement of Alexandria (c. A.D. 200), whose

writings reveal his large acquisitions of learning and the fertility of his genius, says in his *Pædagogus* in which he is instructing a young convert in the practices of the Christian religion (Bk. Quomodo in potu se gerere oporteat):—

“Vino autem modico utere, aquam bibenti Timotheo, propter stomachum tuum, dicit Apostolus, pulchre admodum, egrotanti et languenti corpori conveniens, quod ipsum confirmet ac corroboret auxilium adhibens: modicum autem id decernens, ne eum lateret, hoc auxilium propter multitudinem alia egere curatione.

“Naturalis itaque et sobrius potus sitientibus necessarius, est aqua. Eam ex prærupta petra, manantem, veteribus Hebræis unicum ac simplicem temperantiæ potum suppeditavit Dominus. Oportebat autem eos utpote errantes esse maxime sobrius. Postea sancta vitis botrum germinavit Propheticum. Hoc signum est iis qui ad quietem ex errore instituti sunt magnus botrus, nempe Verbum pro nobis expressum, cum sanguis uvæ, Verbum scilicet, aqua temperari voluerit. Sic etiam sanguis eius salute temperatur.”

“What Principle should be observed in Drinking.”—“‘But,’ says the Apostle to Timothy, who drank water, ‘use a little wine on account of thy stomach,’ very rightly applying to a body sick and weak that suitable remedy which would invigorate and strengthen it; but prescribing it in small quantities, lest the remedy through being taken too copiously should without its being known produce the need for another cure.

“Water is therefore the natural, temperate, and necessary drink for those who are thirsty. It, flowing from the broken rock, the Lord supplied to the ancient Hebrews as the sole and simple drink of temperance. But it was especially necessary for them while wandering to be temperate. Afterwards the sacred vine bore the prophetic cluster. This is a sign to those who have been brought from wandering to rest, representing the great cluster, namely, the Word, crushed for us, when the blood of the grape, namely, the Word, desired to be mingled with water. So also the blood is mingled with salvation.”

Again: "Quomodo Dominum bibisse existimatis quando propter nos homo factus est? Adeone impudenter ut nos? Annon honeste ac temperate, annon considerate? Recte enim scitote. Ipse quoque vino usus est, nam ipse quoque homo, et vinum benedixit cum dixit: Accipite bibite, hoc est sanguis meus, sanguis vitis. Verbum, quod pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum, sanctum lætitiæ fluentum allegorice significat. Et quod sobrium quidem ac moderatum esse oportet eum qui bibit, per ea quæ in conviviis docuit aperte ostendit. Neque enim ebrius docuit. Quod autem vinum esset quod benedictum est, ostendit rursus, dicens discipulis: Non bibam ex fructu vitis huius, donec bibero ipsum vobiscum in regno patris mei. Cæterum quod vinum quidem esset quod bibebatur a Domino, rursus ipse de seipso dicit, Judæorum cordis duritiem exprobrans: Venit enim, inquit, filius hominis, et dicunt ecce homo vorax, et potor vini, publicanorum amicus. Hæc quidem nobis firma et fixa sint adversus eos qui dicuntur Encratitæ."

“How do you think that the Lord drank when He became man on our behalf? Was it shamelessly as we? Was it not decorously and moderately? was it not deliberately? Be well assured of it. He Himself also used wine, for He Himself also was man, and blessed the wine when He said: “Take, drink; this is My blood, the blood of the vine.” The Word, which is shed for many for the remission of sins, He figuratively calls the holy stream of gladness. And that he who drinks ought to be sober indeed and temperate, He clearly showed by His teachings in feasts. For He did not teach under the influence of wine. But that it was wine which he blessed, He showed again by saying to His disciples, “I will not drink from the fruit of this vine until I shall drink it with you in My Father’s kingdom.” But that it was indeed wine which was drunk by our Lord (He shows us again when), He says concerning Himself when reproaching the Jews for the hardness of their hearts: “For the Son of Man came,” said He, “and they say, Behold a gluttonous

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man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans." Let this be firmly and surely held by us against those who are called Encratites."

No one can read St. Clement's chapter on "Drinking" without seeing that he knows of only one kind of wine, the wine that is fermented and intoxicates. He makes absolutely no distinction between the wine that brings a man to rags, to misery and want, and the wine that our Lord used, not only partaking of it Himself, but employing it in the institution of the Holy Communion as a figure of His own precious blood. Indeed he positively asserts that the wine used by our Lord was intoxicating. He also warns against the Encratites, the heretical sect to whose tenets we have already alluded. It seems as though it would be impossible for any one to give clearer and more decided testimony in support of the fermented nature of the wine used at the Sacrament, in that period of the Church's history, than is given by the great teacher of the Alexandrian school.

In the section dealing with the early heretics

we have already quoted from Tertullian, a contemporary of St. Clement, a passage which leaves us in no doubt as to his views.

Eusebius Pamphili, born about 270, was the great Church historian. In his *Præparatio Evangelica*, chap. xxv. bk. 12, he deals with the question of allowing every one to drink wine, and he shows that wine might be taken with care, even the wine which under certain circumstances ought to be avoided. It is the injudicious use of wine that does the harm. Eusebius refers to St. Paul's advice to St. Timothy. The wine recommended by the Apostle, according to him, was the wine that ought to be taken with counsel, and not allowed to all.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, lived a little later than Eusebius. He wrote a treatise *Against Heretics*. In speaking against the Encratitæ, he insists that the immoderate use of other things, as well as wine, is injurious, and forbidden in the Word of God (non scientes quod omne immodicum ubique molestum est, et extra propositum interdictum est. Do ye not

know that all unrestraint whatsoever is injurious, and excess is forbidden). He admits that the wine of the Lord's Supper would bring intoxication and the evil results mentioned in Prov. xxiii.

St. Jerome, the most learned of the Latin Fathers, is our last witness. He flourished at the close of the fourth century, and was an ardent advocate of abstinence. In his Epistle to Nepotian, *de vita Clericorum et Monachorum*, he thus warns him against whatever will cause intoxication: "Whatever inebriates and unbalances the mind, flee in like manner as wine. And I do not say this as if a creature of God should be condemned by us; inasmuch as both the Lord is called a wine-drinker, and a limited amount was allowed to Timothy when suffering in the stomach; but we claim that in drinking there should be a limit, according to age, health, and the condition of the body."

In this passage St. Jerome calls the wine that could intoxicate "a creature of God," and declares that it is not to be condemned by us, that both

our Lord and St. Timothy drank it, and that it may be taken judiciously by us.

The attempt has been made by the advocates of the unfermented wine theory to prove that Thomas Aquinas sanctioned the use of unfermented wine in the Eucharist. Though Aquinas does not come within the scope of the present inquiry, we will consider briefly his evidence.

In answer to the question, *Utrum vinum vitis sit propria materia hujus sacramenti*—"Whether wine of the vine is a proper substance to be used in this sacrament"—he answers, *Mustum autem jam habet speciem vini*—"But must has the specific nature of wine" (*Somme Theologique*, tome 13, partie iii. ques. 74, Art. 5). This passage is frequently cited in support of the view that the Angelical Doctor held the propriety of using fresh grape juice for the Sacrament. Now whatever the validity of the argument, it appears to have been overlooked that there is a world of difference between the position that the use of fresh grape juice is permissible, and the position that it is the only valid wine. The latter is the

only true position of the unfermented wine theorists; with the former we are not concerned at all—we have no desire to deny it; but even supposing for the moment that it accurately represents the position of Aquinas, it manifestly lends no support whatsoever to the advocates of unfermented wine. Even though the passage cited could be made to prove that Aquinas sanctioned unfermented grape juice in the Sacrament, that would be by no means the same as proving that he held it to be the only right material.

But it is not true that even the moderate view of the *mere validity* of fresh grape juice in the Sacrament is expressed in this passage from the great schoolman. If we continue to read on farther we shall see that it proves the exact opposite. He says, “*Nam ejus dulcedo attestatur digestioni, quæ est completio a naturali calore.*” Here we see that sweetness or pleasant flavour mentioned as showing that it is no longer crude must. *Mustum* here, like *gleukos* in Acts ii. 13, was new wine freshly fermented. That *gleukos*,

in Hellenistic Greek, has this meaning is evident from this verse in Acts, and also from the Septuagint translation of Job. xxxii. 19. Hence Robinson in his New Testament Lexicon renders the word, "In New Testament, sweet wine fermented and intoxicating (Acts ii. 13)." In ecclesiastical Latin *mustum* also sometimes possesses this meaning; this is shown by the words "a naturali calore," which can refer only to the result of fermentation, and also by the fact that *gleukos* in Job xxxii. 19 and Acts ii. 13 is rendered in the Vulgate by the word *mustum*. Job xxxii. 19, *En venter meus quasi mustum absque spiraculo, quod lagunculas novas dirumpit*—"Behold, my belly is as wine which hath no vent; like new bottles it is ready to burst." Acts ii. 13, *Alii autem irridentes dicebant: Quia musto pleni sunt isti*—"But others mocking said, They are filled with new wine." In both places the Greek is *gleukos*, and the Latin *mustum*. Scudamore also (p. 771) gives the same meaning to this word. "In the *Manipulus Curatorum*," he says, "We are also told 'that the celebration may be in mustum,'

by which was understood (probably) the fermented juice of the grape before it was refined" (pars. i.-iv. c. iii. fol. xxii. 2, Lond. 1509). Jacobus a Viatrigo, who lived a century before, gives a similar meaning: "The Sacrament may be made of *mustum*, though it be sweet, for it is wine; but it cannot be made of sour juice of the grape, because it is not yet wine."

The whole argument of Thomas Aquinas shows that under ordinary circumstances grape wine—vinum vitis, which, in the view of those who cite the passage in proof that Aquinas sanctioned unfermented grape juice, is fermented, as contrasted with *mustum*, which is unfermented—is the only proper material to be used at the Holy Communion: "Solum vinum vitis propria est materia hujus Sacramenti, quam Christus instituit." "Sicut enim aqua est materia baptismi, ita vinum est materia hujus Sacramenti." He also asserts that whole grapes pressed are not to be used, and that fresh must is likewise prohibited on account of its impurity: "Non tamen debent uvæ integræ huic Sacramento

misceri; quia jam esset ibi aliquid præter vinum. Prohibetur etiam ne mustum statim expressum de uva in calice offeratur, quia hoc est indecens, propter impuritatem musti.” He then adds that in cases of necessity freshly pressed must may be used, and cites in support of this the decree of Pope Julius I., or whoever wrote the Epistle to the Egyptians: “Sed si necesse sit botrus in calice comprimatur, et aqua miscatur”—“But if necessary let the bunch of grapes be pressed into the cup, and let water be mingled with it.” (*Somme Theologique*, tome 13, partie iii. quest. 74, Art. 5.)

PRESSED GRAPES

In the preceding references to Thomas Aquinas we have anticipated the last question which we shall consider in this section, viz. What authority the early Church affords for the custom of pressing the grape juice from the cluster into the cup. In extreme cases the practice was allowed. Scudamore says (p. 771), “In case of necessity, the expressed juice of the

grapes has always been held to be wine for the purpose of the Sacrament." Gratian (Pars. iii. de Consecr. Dist. ii. c. vii.) gives a decree ascribed by him to Julius I., A.D. 337, but which appears mainly derived from a Canon of the Council of Braga (Can. ii. Labb. tome vi. col. 563) held in the year 675, which condemns the use of grapes not crushed and used without water; allowing by implication the use of grape juice and water. In this decree cited by Gratian the following clause occurs:—"But if it be necessary, let the bunch of grapes be pressed in the chalice, and water mixed." This clause is not in the decree of Braga, but being in a code recognised in the Church of Rome, it gave the liberty which circumstances at that period might sometimes make desirable; and is quoted as of authority by Durandus (Ration L. iv. c. xlii. n. 10) to show that "in necessity a bunch of grapes may be squeezed, and the Sacrament made therefrom." The practice therefore could only be followed in cases of *extreme necessity*, and the authority for allowing it even then is very inadequate.

CONCLUSION

Let us now gather up and review the evidence which we have derived from the early Fathers.

We have, in the first place, the admission of the exponents of the unfermented wine theory, that there is no explicit mention made of an unfermented wine by the sub-Apostolic or primitive Fathers, in the Apostolic Constitutions or the early Liturgies; indeed there is not a shadow of evidence that the question of Fermented *v.* Unfermented Wine was ever thought of during that period. In the next place, we have seen that there existed in the early Church a custom of mixing water with the wine, which probably came into the Christian Eucharist from the Jewish Passover, and had the weight of our Lord's observance, and that the only explanation for this custom which possesses any authority, establishes the fermented nature of the wine used by the early Christians at their Agapæ, at first so intimately

associated with the Eucharist. We have discovered the existence in the early Church of sectarians, who, refusing to use wine in the Sacrament on account of its fermentation, and substituting water, &c., instead, were stigmatised accordingly as heretics by the Church. We have further adduced the general evidence of the greatest of the early Fathers in countenance and support of fermented wine. And finally, we have found that even the mild position of the *validity* of fresh grape juice was only partially allowed, the consistent attitude of the Church being that such a practice was abnormal, and only to be allowed in cases of extremity.

Against this mass of evidence one may well wonder how the voice of the early Church can be misunderstood or misrepresented to support the existence and *sole validity* of an unfermented wine in the celebration of the Eucharist.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVIDENCE OF SOME MODERN JEWISH SCHOLARS

It will hardly be denied that of all the evidence furnished upon this question, none outside of Scripture is more important than that of modern Jewish Rabbis and scholars. The Jews have been one of the most conservative races in history. For centuries they have maintained unchanged the old customs and institutions of their Palestinian life. And amongst the chief of these ancient customs they have continued to observe with scrupulous exactness their Passover. Surely, therefore, there can be no better witnesses as to the nature of the wine used at the Passover season, both in modern and ancient days, than the Jews themselves.

This simple fact has always been recognised,

and again and again in the discussion on this question, modern Jewish Rabbis have been appealed to, to settle whether unfermented wine was used at the Passover Feast, or was ever known of among them. And with perfect unanimity their reply has always been in the negative.

Dr. Moore, to whom I have already referred, wrote to a great many leading Jewish scholars and Rabbis on this subject. The answers which he received are most interesting and valuable, and ought to settle once and for all this question of the nature of the wine of the Sacrament. We give extracts from some of the letters received by Dr. Moore:—

Dr. F. Delitzsch, of Leipzig, himself a Jew and a Hebrew scholar of world-wide reputation, thoroughly familiar with the language, literature, and customs of the Jewish people, says: "What Moses Stuart writes in the *Bib. Sac.*, 1843, p. 508, is incorrect. The wine of the Passover has at all times been fermented wine, which, according to the prevalent custom, was mixed with water."

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Dr. Delitzsch is quoted by Dr. Norman Kerr, and other advocates of the unfermented wine theory, as supporting their position, because the *Expositor* for January 1886 makes him say, "Thus it was unfermented wine, too, which Jesus handed to the disciples, &c." But this was a mistranslation; it should have read "fermented wine," and not "unfermented." The mistake was corrected in the following number of the *Expositor*.

Dr. Paulus Cassel, of Christus-Kirche, Berlin, an Israelite, and a well-known Hebrew scholar, in answer to Dr. Moore's letter, sent him an article on the subject which he had published in a Berlin periodical (*Sunem*, 28th May 1880), in which he says that "it has never been the custom of the Jews to use unfermented grape juice at the Passover."

Professor C. W. Palotta, of Vienna, also an Israelite, says: "To my knowledge the question of the lawfulness of fermented wine at Easter has never been started by any Jewish doctor. No strict Jew drinks any other than wine שַׁל פֶּסַח (pesach)

at the Passover; but this simply means that the wine has been manufactured under Jewish supervision from the bruising of the grapes, so as to keep it free from all impurities, and especially from leaven. Thus they also buy sugar, coffee, and many other things under the same Rabbinical guarantee. But among the many thousands of bottles of Passover wine sold at Vienna every year, there has never been one of unfermented juice. Where there is no wine the Jews take mead instead, which is fermented honey generally mixed with spices."

The Rev. Andrew Moody, Jewish missionary of the Scotch Free Church in Pest, says that he knows of no unfermented wine among the Jews of Hungary. In his reply, he sent Dr. Moore a statement by Professor Kaempf, chief preacher to the Jews in Prague, and Professor of Oriental Languages in Prague University. "It was," says Dr. Moore, "to the learned Rabbi a puzzle how the question which now occupies us could ever have been raised, and he only repeated what previous witnesses have testified."

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The Rev. D. Edward, of Breslau, also a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, who has laboured in Moldavia, Galicia, and Silesia, says: "In all my intercourse and negotiations with Jews for nearly forty years, and in all my acquaintance with their literature, I have never met an allusion to any such practice as the use of unfermented wine at their feasts, or in the temple libations. The one rule they insist upon since the captivity, is that the Jews beware of *nesekh* (נֶסֶךְ) —wine prepared by Christians. Their wine must be gathered and prepared by Jews, and have a certificate as ceremonially clean. If there had been any rule about the use of unfermented wine, there would have been as much *pilpul* (Rabbinic disputation) about it as would have filled volumes."

In addition to the above, the same writer sent the following declaration, made by the Rabbis of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau, who are considered the most learned Jews in Germany.

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“Ungegohrener Wein (Most), wird nicht als Wein betrachtet, und wuerde der Pflicht Wein am Pesachabende zu trinken nicht genuegen: Unfermented wine (must) is not regarded as wine, and would not suffice for the fulfilment of the duty to drink wine on the Passover eve.”

The Rev. J. H. Bruehl, Superintendent of the Jewish Operative Institution, Palestine Place, London, is a convert from Judaism, and was a missionary among the Jews in Bagdad, Jerusalem, Lemberg, and Vienna. He writes: “So far as can be seen from the Talmud, the Jews of our Saviour’s time had no hesitation whatever about fermented wine at the Passover. Not vinous, but farinaceous fermentation was prohibited. I do not know of any unfermented real wine. In countries which do not produce wine, the stricter Jews, especially those of the poorer classes, use, both for the Sabbath and the Passover, raisin wine. They are perfectly indifferent about fermentation. They make raisin wine because it is cheaper, because any

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quantity, however small, can be made for immediate use, and chiefly because they can be thereby assured that their wine has not been defiled by the touch of a Gentile."

Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of Cincinnati, editor of *The American Israelite and Deborah*, writes: "All Jews at all times have used at the Passover not only wine and cider, but also vinegar made of wine or of fruit. In all Jewish ceremonies, as marriages, circumcisions, the beginning and close of the Sabbath, the feast of Passover, wine—fermented wine, and not must—has been, and is still, in use."

Dr. G. Gottheil, Rabbi of Emmanuel Temple, New York, writes: "It is proper to use fermented wine at the Passover. That is the rule. Unfermented is permitted in case the former cannot be obtained, or is forbidden from sanitary reasons. So it is with mead, raisin wine, and spiced wine. Where these are not obtainable, any other beverage which takes the place of wine in the customs of the country may be used. These are concessions made to

the force of circumstances. The law treats invariably of wine in the ordinary sense of the word; and that it is supposed to possess the intoxicating property is clear from the precept that the celebrants of the Passover are forbidden to drink of the wine between the prescribed cups at certain portions of the ritual, lest their minds should get clouded, and thereby unfit to perform the ceremonies and recite the prayers with proper devotion. In the discussions concerning the substitutes for wine, their inebriating quality is altogether disregarded. Paschal wine is fermented grape juice which has been carefully kept from contact with leaven. I was reared in strictly orthodox surroundings, and have had, besides, ample opportunities of observing the customs of my brethren in many lands. Yet I never heard it so much as questioned that fermented wines are lawful for use; and I am quite at a loss to account for the positive assertions to the contrary by Mr. Noah and the late Prof. M. Stuart. It was by Christians and not by Jews that this discussion

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was started. The Rabbis did not fear that the use of the cup under religious sanction would turn the faithful into drunkards, and experience has proved that they were not mistaken."

I also myself wrote to Rabbi A. L. Glickman of Dublin, and to Dr. H. Adler, Delegate Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, and received replies which fall into line exactly with the testimonies received by Dr. Moore.

Rabbi Glickman says: "We generally use now 'Raisin Wine.' The raisins are first chopped and soaked in water, and left for some days to ferment. They are then squeezed out and strained through linen, and we get what we call 'Raisin Wine.' But now since the establishment of the Jewish Colonies in Palestine, those who can afford use Palestine wine, and I suppose you are aware that it is like the ordinary wine in the market. It is incorrect that the Jews use unfermented wine at their Feast."

Dr. Adler writes: "The wine used at our Passover Festival was no doubt the fermented juice of the grape. At the present time the

juice of raisins is also occasionally used, and is prepared in the home."

It is not necessary to say any more; we have given statements made by the most competent persons, men of ability and learning, from many different parts of the world, who have no theory to support, and nothing to bias them towards the one or the other position. The unfermented wine theory has no foundation in Hebrew or classical antiquity. The wines of Syria and Palestine have always been fermented. Dr. W. M. Thomson tells us in his work, *The Land and the Book*, "Wine is the fermented juice of the grape. . . . No other kind of wine is known in Syria, and, so far as can be ascertained, it never had any actual existence. There is no evidence that there has occurred any important variation in the manufacture, the use, or the effects of wine from remote antiquity."

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL CONCLUSION

IN bringing this whole discussion to a close, it is necessary to point out certain facts the oversight of which might lead to a grave misinterpretation of the bearing of the arguments which have been advanced. They are facts which demand exposition and emphasis in view of the two extremes into one or other of which those interested in this subject are almost always betrayed.

Let it be borne in mind, in the first place, that the present discussion has *nothing whatever to do with the question of partial or total abstinence from fermented liquors, as a rule of daily life*. The duty of denying self for the sake of weaker brethren ought to be considered very carefully, and observed very con-

scientifically in an age when intemperance abounds in high places and in low, and the ravages of its evil can be seen on all sides. From every standpoint, economic, moral, and religious, the same imperative need greets us, to grapple with one of the most prolific and manifest of all the numerous sources of evil. And we would be second to none in the earnest desire and endeavour that all men should "live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." Yet we cannot but deprecate any attempt to support so good a cause as that of Temperance by untruths or arguments that are untenable.

A warning must be entered, in the second place, against an extreme and unwarranted, yet very common deduction, drawn from the arguments in proof of the fermented wine used at the Eucharist in New Testament times. That extreme, briefly stated, is the *illegality of unfermented wine* in the celebration of the Lord's Supper to-day. Those who hold very strongly that the wine used by our

Lord and the Apostles was fermented, generally—invariably as far as we are aware—proceed to the further position that we to-day, also, if we would use the legal wine for the Sacrament, must use fermented wine. They assume this position as though it were the logical and necessary outcome of the previous one. And so we have the two extremes; one party asserting that unfermented, the other that fermented wine, was the wine of the original ordinance, and the kind that MUST be used to-day. And both extremes react upon each other; the advocate of the former position is driven to his counter-extreme in part by the very extremeness of the latter position, and *vice versa*. If the facts and inferences of these chapters are correct, they certainly prove the first extreme, *i.e.* that of the unfermented wine theorists, to be untenable, but they do not therefore substantiate the counter-extreme, as they are almost invariably supposed to do. Truth lies here, as always, in the mean.

This is a point of sufficient importance to call

for some elaboration. Our contention is that while to our mind there is absolutely no doubt that the wine used in the Sacrament in New Testament times was fermented, this does not warrant us, even on the most rigidly Scriptural principles, in denying the legality of an unfermented wine in the Sacrament to-day, and our argument is this:—

(1) The question as to whether a genuine unfermented *wine* can *now* be produced is purely one of scientific fact that is capable of determination. But it is a question for the chemist, not the theologian. Of course if it is a scientific impossibility to produce such a wine, now or at any time, then the question is settled at once, and that too in the most absolute manner, and one in harmony with the most extreme opponent of the unfermented wine theory; the use of anything but fermented wine would then be illegal, nothing else being genuine wine. But very high chemical authority has been adduced to prove not only that a genuine unfermented wine is now producible, but that it has been, and is being produced.

(2) Concede the claim, or allow that at some

future time it may be true; what then? Surely this, that that unfermented liquor is a genuine wine, a genuine juice of the grape, and that as such it is as fit and proper a wine for the Sacrament as the fermented kind.

(3) If you deny the propriety of its use on Scriptural grounds—if you maintain that however genuine it may be as a wine, it is not legitimate, because the only wine used by the New Testament Church was fermented—your contention becomes certainly tantamount to this, that the *presence of fermentation and alcohol is a necessary qualification in the wine of the Sacrament*. The power of intoxicating is an essential feature and property, the absence of which is sufficient to make even genuine wine unfit for Sacramental use. Surely, however convinced we are of the baselessness of the unfermented wine theory, we shall hesitate to adopt this extreme. This is to elevate alcohol and the power of intoxication into an undue position of importance. It is to say that Sacramental wine is Sacramental because it can intoxicate. It is to mistake for an *essential*

constituent of wine what is (if genuine unfermented wine can be produced) merely *an accident*. What if the Lord and the Apostles did use fermented wine? We admit it; we contend it; but we confidently submit that their reason for using it lay, not by any means in its alcoholic properties or intoxicating powers—these were no virtues in any degree fitting it for its symbolical use—but in the fact that they had no other kind to use; that was the kind, and the only kind, in use or existence at their time. But that was purely an accident; had there been an unintoxicating kind in use as a distinct and recognised kind, doubtless that would have been the kind they used. There did not happen to be such, and as a consequence they used the common, fermented wine of the country. But who will be so extreme as to claim that therefore, there being to-day or to-morrow a genuine wine that is unfermented, we to-day or to-morrow *must* use the fermented kind, and cannot properly use the other? To take an illustration of the necessity for drawing this distinction between an essential

and an accident. Suppose that there was commonly mixed with the wines of Palestine in New Testament times an ingredient—say resin—are we to argue that no wine is Scripturally fit for the Sacrament to-day unless it contains resin? There can be little doubt that the wines of Palestine differed in many minor respects from those in common use among us to-day, but we do not dream of investigating the method and recipe by which those old wines were produced on the ground that it is necessary that the Sacramental wines of to-day should be made from the same materials and in the same way. The essential is that they should be *wine*; in the accidents they may, and will, differ in varying degrees. And if genuine unfermented wine *can* be produced, whether we know at present how to produce it or not, fermentation is an accident due to our methods, our choice, or our ignorance. And whenever that wine is produced, whether now or in the future, the accident will disappear without in any way affecting the genuineness of the wine and its validity in the Sacrament.

This is the only strong position, for it is the only true one. Both the extremists have weakened their cause, in that while each has been possessed of a truth, and an important one, each has mixed with his truth an error which vitiates the whole, and makes his argument as weak as the heterogeneous-mattered feet of Nebuchadnezzar's dream image. With the one we concur in all his horror of the fatal evils of drink, but we say to him that that very horror has led him beyond the bounds of truth when he asserts that our Lord and the Apostles and the saints of Bible times never used intoxicating wine, and that he who uses it to-day in the Sacrament is acting in opposition to them. With the other also we agree in his denial of that assertion, and his statement that the wine of Bible times was intoxicating. But when he goes further to maintain that nothing but a fermented wine can properly be used in the Sacrament, even though a genuine unfermented wine exist, we assert that he too is overstepping the truth,

and has glided into error, since he mistakes for an essential qualification of Sacramental wine what was merely an accident in the wine of Bible times. Surely we can be perfectly clear and strong upon the fermented nature of Bible wines without falling into such an extreme.

A further warning may be addressed to unfermented wine advocates relative to one of their favourite arguments. It is undoubtedly a specious argument, that because drink has effected untold miseries and evils, and wrought almost immeasurable havoc in the world, Christ and the Apostles and the saints of old Bible days could not themselves have used or countenanced the use of intoxicating wine. But it is not at all sufficient. It is based upon the general principle that Christ and his Apostles could not countenance institutions that were evil in themselves as well as in their effects. But that principle does not seem capable of being sustained. Many facts in the life of Christ and the Apostles seem to run counter to

it. A Church historian of the present day has written relative to even the Apostolic age of the Church: "The ethics of the Gospel as regards civil and social relations it took time fully to develop" (G. P. Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, p. 39). There have been few institutions of past or present times so diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles and whole spirit of the Gospel as slavery. Any Christian minister, any civilised man, even though he made no profession of Christianity, who argued about slavery to-day as the Southern minister on the Mississippi steamboat in Mrs. Stowe's famous story, would be hissed out of all decent society. And this clear conception of the immorality of slavery, and this strong attitude of condemnation towards it, have been the products of Christian teaching; the pregnant principles and spirit of the Christian revelation gradually expanding and unfolding themselves; the intensive truths of the Gospel gradually permeating all the social relationships of life wherever they were received, and

gradually overcoming what was opposed to them. Yet, because I recognise to-day the awful evils for which slavery has been responsible for countless centuries—evils curiously analogous to those that follow in the train of drunkenness—am I to assert that Christ and the Apostles could not have countenanced slavery? Whatever I may say, the fact remains that St. Paul did countenance it. Exhortations to “servants” (*δοῦλοι*, *lit.* slaves) are frequent through his Epistles, urging upon them obedience, and single-minded service of their masters. And so also St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 18). If these exhortations stood by themselves they might be explained away on the ground that they were addressed to the Christian slaves of pagan masters, and that as their masters would not liberate them, it was the will of God that they should patiently bear the monstrous injustice, and glorify Him in their slavery. But they do not stand alone; they are immediately followed by exhortations to the masters of these very slaves as to how they should treat these slaves of

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theirs, who were at the same time their fellow-members in the Christian Church (*vide* Col. iv. 1; Eph. vi. 5 *sq.*; Col. iii. 22; 1 Tim. vi. 1; Tit. ii. 9; 1 Cor. vii. 21). The most striking instance of this kind is the case of Onesimus, whose history in outline is given in the Epistle to his master Philemon. Onesimus, the defaulting slave, who had not merely snatched his liberty, but had also carried off some of his master's property, converted after many strange vicissitudes by St. Paul, the prisoner at Rome, is sent back to his old master to resume his former place in his house, not now as a servant only, but "above a servant, a brother beloved," yet evidently from the whole tenor of the letter to be still considered in legal standing the slave of his fellow-Christian. It is nothing to the point that the Christianity of that age in its pristine purity and vigour would remove from slavery all its features of cruelty and oppression, and transform the relationship between master and slave into one of easy service, sweetened by the closest tie of brotherly love and the deepest spiritual sympathy.

We recognise that slavery is as immoral in the mansion of a St. Claire as on the plantation of a Legree. And what we have to face is the fact that neither Christ nor his Apostles spoke any word against a cursed institution as prolific of cruelty and crime and woe as even the drink traffic, but, on the other hand, St. Paul and St. Peter at least distinctly countenanced it. 'To the man who recognises the principle so well expressed by Prof. Fisher, as already quoted, the fact presents little difficulty. Truth never springs into the world as Athene full grown from the head of Zeus; that is never the method of her rising. She breaks gradually in the grey east, flushing a few isolated peaks, the highest in the range first, with her illumining touch, then as she rises higher, lower and intervening peaks are lit, and she flings her light still farther down their sides till the low-lying plain at their feet is reached, and peaks and hills and plain lie all lit up in one connected landscape.

So God works; not by the earthquake or

the fire sweeping in devastating force over everything, and destroying in one mighty outburst of power all that opposes Him, leaving nothing for future ages to set right, but by the still small voice, quietly and slowly.

War is another institution which, though it is certainly diametrically opposed to the principles and spirit of the Gospel, finds its condemnation in the New Testament, not so much in any explicit denunciation of it to be found there, as in those principles and that spirit which, whenever they shall have won universal acceptance, will make war for ever impossible. This being so, it is false to logic as well as to fact to argue that our Lord and the Apostles could not have used fermented wine, or countenanced its use, in view of the terrible evils drunkenness had and would produce.

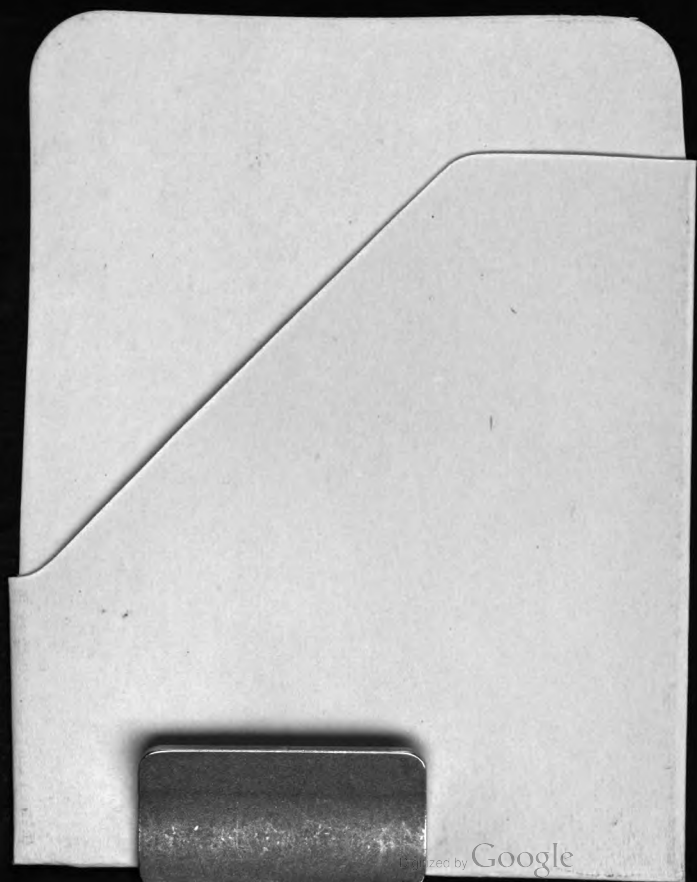
A last word by way of suggestion may be added. We well know the practical difficulty that is in the mind of many, especially of the clergy, in connection with the question of the

wine to be used at the Sacrament. Men and women, they say, who have been slaves to intemperance, and who might easily be drawn back into the clutches of their enemy, are afraid to come to the Holy Communion on account of the wine that is used in so many churches. It is a real difficulty with the clergy where to get a very mild wine that could safely be taken by every one. Many of the wines sold for Communion use are exceedingly strong, and in certain churches there would be very serious danger in using them. Surely if there is a genuine unfermented wine obtainable, it would be in such cases at least much wiser to use it. As we have already seen, there can be no possible objection to the use of such a wine, provided it be *genuine* wine, and not merely a decoction with the appearance of wine. Or if there should be any difficulty in procuring such a wine, it seems a great pity that we are not allowed to mix water with the wine, not of course for any superstitious or even symbolical reasons, but in order to

make the wine perfectly safe for all to take. This practice, which is forbidden in the Church of Ireland by Canon XXXVII., is allowed in the Church of England and other branches of the Anglican Communion.

THE END

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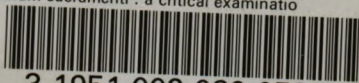
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